A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*

Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* HENRY VIII. *continued.* A. D. 1515.

MEAN while cardinal Bambridge dying at Rome, the king conferred the see of York on Thomas Wolsey, who now engrossed the whole administration of public affairs. Henry, by his late accommodation with Lewis, had freed himself from a troublesome and expensive war; and now his kingdom was blessed with a profound

tranquillity; for James IV. of Scotland, who was ſlain in the battle of Flodden, had left two infant ſons, under the guardianſhip of his queen, whom, by his laſt will, he had conſtituted regent of the kingdom, during her widowhood.

She had no ſooner received the melancholy tidings of her huſband's death, than ſhe wrote to her brother Henry, intreating him not to diſturb the peace of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew James V. and he generouſly replied, that he was equally diſpoſed for peace or war, and left it to the wiſdom of the Scottiſh miniſtry, to chooſe either of the two they ſhould think proper.

The authority of this queen, however, was of ſhort duration; for giving her hand to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, the party which oppoſed that nobleman, headed by the earl of Hume, perſuaded the ſtates to beſtow the regency on John duke of Albany, ſon of Alexander duke of Albany, brother of James III. who, having died in France, left his title to this ſon, a young nobleman of great abilities, and warmly devoted to the intereſt of Lewis, who had diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of his favour and regard.

Lewis

Lewis XII. of France, dying on the first day of January,* was succeeded by the duke de Valois, under the name of Francis I. who assumed the title of duke of Milan, thereby intimating, that he designed to pursue the plan of his predecessor, with regard to the recovery of that province.

Mary, the young dowager of France, being now at liberty to give her hand to the person who had gained her heart, married Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, in the third month of her widowhood, without the consent or knowledge of her brother Henry, who, at first, was highly incensed against the duke and her; but they soon found means to make their peace, and were again received into favour.

About the time of their arrival in England, Henry convoked a parliament, which, among many other regulations of a domestic nature, enacted three remarkable statutes. The first ordained, that no unmanufactured wool should be exported out of the kingdom: the second cancelled all patents lately procured, which were inconsistent with the purport of prior patents, not expressly specified in the latter; and the third decreed, that no member of parliament should absent himself

* A. D. 1515.

ſelf before the end of the ſeſſion, without the leave of the houſe, on pain of forfeiting his wages.

In the mean time, Francis I. being determined to attempt the recovery of Milan, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the friendſhip of England, and diſpatched an ambaſſador to London, to renew the alliance with Henry, together with the obligation for paying the million of crowns which had been promiſed by Lewis. This negociation ſucceeded to his wiſh, and a new treaty was concluded on the fifth day of April.

At the ſame time, Henry ſent ambaſſadors to Bruſſels, to apologize for his conduct to Charles, in the affair of his ſiſter's marriage, and to propoſe a new alliance; but they met with a very indifferent reception, and a conſiderable time elapſed before they were favoured with an audience.

In the mean time, Francis was making preparations for his expedition into Italy; and Ferdinand, ſuſpecting that his real deſign was upon Navarre, concluded a league with the emperor, the duke of Milan, and the Swiſs, for defeating his project, whether he ſhould invade that kingdom, or attempt to penetrate into Italy.

The

The pope himself engaged privately in this treaty; and sent an army into Lombardy, under the conduct of Laurence de Medicis. The king of Arragon levied forces for the defence of Navarre; and the Swiss sent troops to guard the passes into Italy; but Ferdinand no sooner learned that the real design of Francis was against Milan, than he disbanded his army which he had assembled for the protection of Navarre, and discharged the viceroy of Naples, who commanded his forces in Italy, to assist the allies.

The emperor, according to his usual custom, remained inactive at Inspruck, and Leo discovered no inclination to succour the Swiss, who were thus left to support the whole burden of the war. Francis having crossed the mountains by a road which was thought impassable, the Swiss withdrew to Milan; and he advancing to the same city, offered to gratify them with a large sum of money, if they would retire to their own country.

At first they seemed to listen to his proposal, and some progress was actually made in the negociation; but having at length received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, they not only rejected his offers, but even determined to give him battle.

They

They accordingly attacked him at Marignan, and were routed with the loſs of ten thouſand of their beſt troops; then they returned to Swiſſerland; and their ally, Maximilian Sforza, being compelled to ſurrender his capital of Milan to the conqueror, was ſent priſoner into France.

The pope finding that all arts and intrigues were unable to defeat the ſchemes of Francis, determined to make his peace with that monarch; and an agreement was immediately accompliſhed on ſuch advantageous terms, as Leo had no reaſon to expect from a prince, whom he had ſo highly offended.

By this time, the king of England began to entertain a ſtrong jealouſy of the power and greatneſs of the French monarch; and this diſpoſition was greatly inflamed by the inſinuations of Wolſey, who wanted to be revenged on Francis for ſome ill offices he had received from him, in the affair of the biſhopric of Tournay, of which the Engliſh miniſter enjoyed the adminiſtration.

Wolſey had ſolicited Francis to confer ſome other dioceſe on Lewis Guillard, biſhop of that ſee, and the French king had promiſed to comply with his requeſt; but, inſtead of performing his promiſe, he perſuaded the pope to reinſtate Guillard, who was furniſhed with a bull for that purpoſe,

and

and even permitted to employ the ſecular arm in order to recover poſſeſſion.

This mandate gave great offence both to Henry and his favourite, who thus ſaw himſelf deprived of a very lucrative office; but Francis endeavoured to appeaſe Wolſey by promiſing to exert his utmoſt efforts towards procuring him a cardinal's hat, which was the chief object of his ambition.

He had flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of ſucceeding Bambridge both as cardinal and archbiſhop of York; and employed as his agent at the court of Rome, cardinal Adrian de Cornetto, the pope's collator in England, whoſe ſubſtitute in this affair was Polydore Virgil, the hiſtorian.

The cardinal, however, inſtead of promoting, had betrayed his intereſt; and Wolſey, being informed of his treachery, was ſo highly incenſed againſt him, that he not only ſent Virgil to the Tower on ſome frivolous pretence; but even perſuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the pope, deſiring he would name another collator in the room of Adrian.

His holineſs was obliged to grant his requeſt, but he and the cardinal Julius de Medicis interpoſed their good offices in order to procure the releaſe of Polydore Virgil, who, nevertheleſs, was not ſet at liberty, until Wolſey had obtained the cardi-

nal's

nal's hat by the intereſt of the French monarch.

But Wolſey, more provoked at the injury he had formerly ſuffered, than grateful for the favour he had now received from Francis, determined to make him feel the whole weight of his reſentment. With this view, he endeavoured to inſpire the mind of Henry with a ſtrong hatred and averſion to the French monarch, whoſe power and greatneſs he repreſented as extremely dangerous to the liberties of Europe; and whoſe pride and ambition, he alledged, it was the intereſt of England, in a particular manner, to humble.

When he had thus prepared the king's diſpoſition, he acquainted the emperor that it would not be difficult to diſengage his maſter from his connexion with Francis; and in the mean time, he perſuaded Henry to renew the alliance between Spain and England, notwithſtanding the treachery and deceit with which Ferdinand had formerly behaved.

Maximilian, overjoyed at this propoſal, diſpatched a Milaneſe ambaſſador to London, to ſolicit ſuccours for Francis Sforza, who now reſided in Germany, and had borne the title of duke of Milan ever ſince the captivity of his elder brother.

A general

A general council being ſummoned on this occaſion, Wolſey opened the aſſembly with a long and laboured ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to prove that it was the intereſt of England to oppoſe the ambitious views of the French monarch. His opinion was ſeconded by the biſhop of Durham and the majority of the members; but the old counſellors diſſuaded the king from violating the treaty which he had ſo lately concluded with Francis; and adviſed him rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland, where the French party prevailed over the intereſt of his ſiſter.

Henry himſelf determined to follow a middle courſe, which was probably ſuggeſted to him by his miniſter. He reſolved to aid the emperor and Francis Sforza privately; he empowered Richard Pace, his ambaſſador at the Imperial court, to treat with them on this ſubject, and in the mean time ſupplied them with a large ſum of money.

The duke of Milan was not ungrateful for this inſtance of Wolſey's friendſhip; he promiſed to ſettle an annual penſion of ten thouſand ducats upon that miniſter, as ſoon as he ſhould recover poſſeſſion of his dutchy; and the emperor ſent Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, into England, to conclude a league with Henry.

On

On the twelfth day of November, the king convoked a parliament, in which, however, no business of any importance was transacted. At the same time, the clergy met in convocation; and after having considered the demand of an extraordinary subsidy, which the pope had made on pretence of an approaching war with the Turks, they replied, that the last war, undertaken against France, at the desire of pope Julius II. for the protection of the church, had drained their coffers in such a manner, that they were altogether unable to furnish new subsidies: they further alledged, that, by a decree of the council of Constance, the pope was incapacitated from imposing taxes on the clergy without the consent of a general council.

While the English clergy were thus endeavouring to screen themselves from the oppressions of the Roman pontiff, they found they were subject to a new pope of their own, in the person of Wolsey, whose authority was the more dangerous, as it was supported by the whole power of the sovereign.

Since his promotion to the dignity of cardinal, he had become more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, among whom were ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty esquires.

His

His cardinal's hat was carried as a trophy before him; and when he came into the king's chapel, it was placed upon the altar. He was preceded by his ſerjeant at arms and mace, two gentlemen carrying pillars of ſilver, and his croſs-bearer. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes.

Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſhocked at his oſtentation; and ſtill more incenſed at his arrogance in cauſing the croſs of York to be borne aloft in the province of Canterbury. Conſcious of his own inability to contend with Wolſey in point of intereſt, he deſired permiſſion to withdraw to his own ſee, and reſigned the office of chancellor, which was immediately beſtowed on the favourite cardinal, whom the king enabled to ſupport his increaſing dignity with continual benefactions of prebends, wardſhips, and other perquiſites.

Beſides the revenues of his ſee and the office of chancellor, he farmed at a low rate the biſhoprics of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, poſſeſſed by Italians who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to purchaſe this indulgence by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits.

In the course of this year, Alexander duke of Albany arrived in Scotland, which he found involved in civil discord and dissension. As Henry was uncle to the infant king, he had declared himself protector of that realm; and, by the permission of the pope, bestowed all the benefices on his own creatures.

The duke of Albany, being alike unacquainted with the language and customs of the Scots, conducted himself entirely by the advice of Hepburn, bishop of Murray, a factious and turbulent prelate; who having a dispute about his diocese, with Formar archbishop of St. Andrews, who was supported by the earl of Hume, gave such an unfavourable account of this nobleman to the regent, that, when he came to court, he was received with great coldness and indifference.

Provoked at this treatment, he accommodated his quarrel with the queen dowager, whom he advised to carry her son into England, where he would be safe from the treacherous designs of the regent; but this scheme was defeated by the vigilance of the duke of Albany, who secured the person of the young king, and entrusted the care of his education to three persons of unblemished morals, and distinguished abilities.

Hume

Hume and his brother, ſeeing their plot diſcovered, eſcaped into England, whither they were ſoon followed by the queen, and her huſband the earl of Angus. Nevertheleſs, the regent found means to perſuade them to return to their own country; though not before the queen was delivered, at Harbottle in Northumberland, of a daughter, who was named Margaret.

In February, the following year,* the queen of England was brought to-bed of a princeſs, baptiſed by the name of Mary; and the ſame month was diſtinguiſhed by the death of Ferdinand king of Spain, who, as his eldeſt daughter Joan was incapable of holding the reins of government, on the account of the natural imbecillity of her underſtanding, was ſucceeded on the thrones of Arragon and Caſtile, by his grandſon Charles archduke of Auſtria; juſt after that prince had renewed the alliance between England and the Low Countries, of which he was ſovereign.

As it was the intereſt of Charles to live on good terms with France, until he ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Spain, Maximilian found himſelf obliged to make head againſt the whole power of the French monarchy.

* A. D. 1516.

Conscious of his own inability to maintain such an unequal struggle, he endeavoured to persuade the king of England to engage in a league against France, by promising to resign the empire in his favour, and transfer to him his whole right to the dutchy of Milan; but Henry, who was by this time perfectly well acquainted with Maximilian's character, refused to accept his offer; though he was pleased to present him with a large sum of money, which, in reality, was the only object of the emperor's pursuit.

About the same time, he agreed to a truce for one year with the regent of Scotland, that he might have an opportunity to ruin the interest of that nobleman by means of the Humes, who were entirely at his devotion.

He wrote to the Scottish parliament, requiring them to send back the duke of Albany to France, because it was dangerous to trust the young king in the hands of his presumptive heir; and declaring, that, should they refuse to grant his request, he would be obliged to take other measures for the safety of his nephew. This remonstrance having produced no effect, the Humes prevailed upon Hamilton earl of Arran to claim the regency, as kinsman to the king; and, in the mean time, they assembled

ſembled an army, in order to aſſiſt him in aſſerting his pretenſions.

Albany, being apprized of this conſpiracy, marched againſt the earl of Arran, and in a few days ſubdued his caſtle of Hamilton: then the Humes, avowing their rebellion, beſieged the town of Dunbar, which they ſoon took and demoliſhed. They were afterwards decoyed to court by the aſſurances of the regent, and immediately executed as traitors to their country.

During theſe tranſactions in Britain, there happened in Germany one of the moſt remarkable and important events that occurs in hiſtory, either ancient or modern.* This was no other than the commencement of the Reformation; an incident which opened the eyes of men, to diſcover the cheats and impoſitions of the court of Rome, and, together with the ineſtimable privilege of the freedom of private judgment in religious matters, introduced the no leſs valuable bleſſing of civil and political liberty.

The Chriſtian world was, at this time, ſunk in the moſt profound ignorance and ſuperſtition. The Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Chriſt, ſat in St. Peter's chair; and, from this ſacred ſeat, diſpenſed to the

* A. D. 1517.

credulous and deluded people such tenets and doctrines as he thought proper to inculcate.

As the maxims he recommended, at the same time that they served to promote his own selfish and interested views, tended likewise to enforce the principles of slavery and despotism, the only species of government then in Europe, his orders were readily received, and chearfully obeyed, by all the princes of Christendom, who were willing to share with his holiness the spoils of the wretched and unhappy people; and were the more inclined to maintain the influence of the Popish religion, as they considered it as the chief support of their own absolute and unlimited authority.

To doubt the truth of what his holiness asserted; to dispute his right of making, and altering, religious rites and ceremonies; or to question his power of laying impositions on the clergy, would have been regarded as the height of impiety and presumption: and whatever scruples men of sense and reflexion might have entertained in private, no one had hitherto ventured to publish his sentiments to the world.

But these times of ignorance and superstition were now drawing towards a close. Leo the tenth, by his generous and enterprizing temper, had greatly exhausted his treasury,

treasury, and was obliged to make use of every expedient that might furnish him with money, in order to defray the expences of his projects, pleasures, and amusements.

The scheme of selling indulgencies was suggested to him by some of his ministers, who alledged that this method had been often practised in former times, to draw money from the Christian world, and dispose the pious and devout to contribute a part of their substance towards supporting the grandeur and dignity of the court of Rome.

The church was supposed to be possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of the saints, beyond what were necessary to their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: and, from this inexhaustible store, the pope might retail particular portions, and, by that traffic, procure money to be employed in promoting the interest of religion, in resisting the infidels, or subduing heretics. The money, however, when once brought into the treasury, was commonly applied to less pious purposes.

Leo, accordingly, in compliance with the advice of his courtiers, and the practice of his predecessors, published a general sale

of

of plenary indulgences to all such as were willing to purchase their salvation. The better to collect the money arising from this market, Christendom was divided into different departments, in each of which a certain number of priests were commissioned to recommend and enforce the utility of indulgences.

The archbishop of Mentz, who appointed the preachers in Germany, allotted the province of Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in former times, that office had been enjoyed by the Augustines. These last were so provoked at this supposed injury, that they examined, with the utmost rigour and severity, the conduct of the preachers, as well as the collectors, which they exposed, ridiculed, and condemned in public.

At length Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, and professor of divinity in the new university of Wirtemberg, drew his pen against those agents; and in his writings inserted some strong and unanswerable objections against the nature of indulgences themselves.

By these bold and spirited attacks he exposed himself to the resentment of a great number of ecclesiastics; and their opposition obliged him to inquire into the authority on which indulgences were founded. He was soon convinced of their being altogether

gether unsupported by scripture; and from that day he endeavoured to undeceive the public with regard to their opinion of the papal power, and exerted his utmost efforts in promoting the Reformation, which soon spread over the greatest part of Germany; and afterwards extended into other countries.

The pope seemed to despise the attempts of Luther, thinking it impossible that a simple monk could ever subvert the power and authority of the sovereign pontiff: he therefore continued to sell his indulgences without interruption, and advised all good Christians to embrace such a favourable opportunity of exchanging their earthly and perishable riches for blessings of a heavenly and eternal nature.

Among others he applied to the king of England, whom he highly commended for his zealous attachment to the cause of religion; and then demanded a subsidy of two hundred thousand ducats for the prosecution of a war against the Turks, though for once he happened to fail in his application.

Henry's attention was much more engaged by the proposal of Maximilian who had offered to resign the empire in his favour. Though he affected at first to decline this honour, it made an impression upon his mind; and now that the emperor

for had come into the Low-Countries to visit his grandson the king of Castile, he dispatched the bishop of Winchester and doctor Cuthbert Tunstal, to renew the negociation, and propose an interview.

Maximilian told them, that he would save their king the trouble of crossing the sea, by repairing to England in person; but when they pressed him on the other subject, he returned an artful and equivocal answer, and endeavoured to evade his former promise. One while he pretended, that he would willingly resign the empire in favour of Henry, could he once obtain the consent of the diet, that he himself might preserve the title of king of the Romans, and render it hereditary in his family: at another time he said he designed to procure the imperial crown for his grandson Charles, to constitute Henry king of the Romans, to erect Austria into a kingdom for Ferdinand the brother of Charles, and to content himself with the office of field-marshal of the empire.

From these vague and contradictory declarations, the ambassadors inferred, that he had no design to part with the Imperial crown; and that his former proposal was no other than a plot to draw money from the king of England.

Henry

Henry had very little reaſon to be vexed at his being diſappointed in the proſpect of obtaining ſuch a uſeleſs and troubleſome dignity. He ruled over a rich and powerful nation which chearfully ſubmitted to his government; and the peace of his kingdom was undiſturbed, except by ſome petty tumults, which were eaſily ſuppreſſed.

One of theſe happened, at this period, in the city of London, where the apprentices raiſed an inſurrection againſt foreigners, ſome of whom were plundered and ſlain. Cholmondely, conſtable of the Tower, diſcharged ſome guns into the ſtreets, while the earls of Shrewſbury and Surrey collecting the gentlemen of the inns of court, reſtrained the violence of the populace; and in about three days after the tumult, the duke of Norfolk entering the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, joined the mayor, and ſeized the perſons of the principal inſurgents.

John Lincoln, a broker, and three other ringleaders, were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Ten were hung on as many gibbets in different ſtreets: the recorder and aldermen went in mourning to court, and implored the clemency of the king, who referred the matter to the deciſion of the cardinal, as lord high-chancellor of the realm. In conſequence of his award, all the priſoners

ſoners in white ſhirts, with halters about their necks, appeared in the royal preſence at Weſtminſter, and throwing themſelves on the king's mercy, were indulged with a pardon.

This commotion was ſoon followed by the ſweating ſickneſs, which raged in England with ſuch violence, that ſome towns loſt one third, and others one half of their inhabitants, the patient commonly dying in three hours after he was ſeized with the diſtemper.

The king of France was extremely deſirous of recovering the city of Tournay, which he was ſenſible he could never hope to retrieve, without the concurrence of cardinal Wolſey, who was adminiſtrator of that biſhopric.*

He therefore endeavoured, by a profuſion of preſents and promiſes, to engage the cardinal in his intereſt; and at length, he perſuaded him to conſent to its reſtitution, on condition that Wolſey ſhould receive an annual penſion, in lieu of the adminiſtration; that Francis ſhould pay ſix hundred thouſand crowns to Henry, as an equivalent for Tournay; and that the dauphin of France ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, daughter to the king of England.

Theſe

* A. D. 1518.

These preliminaries being privately adjusted, Wolsey all of a sudden altered his former strain, and represented to the king, that the charge of maintaining the garrison of Tournay, greatly exceeded all the advantages he could hope to reap from the possession of a place which was situated at such a considerable distance from Calais; and which, in case of a rupture, he would never be able to defend.

He therefore advised him to accept the money that was offered by the French monarch; and embrace the proposal of a marriage, which would strengthen their friendship, and enable them to oppose the growing power of the house of Austria; which, being already possessed of the empire, Spain, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, seemed to threaten the general liberties of Europe.

Henry was too sagacious not to perceive the true motive of Wolsey's having so suddenly changed the tenour of his discourse; and publickly declared, that he plainly saw Wolsey was determined to govern both him and the king of France. In fact, that minister had gained such an ascendant over the mind of his master, that he could easily have persuaded him to embrace any measure, however inconsistent with his own interest: but here the inclination of the fa-

vourite, and the intereſt of the ſovereign happened to coincide; and he accordingly agreed to the propoſal.

The king of France was no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of the negociation, than he ſent over ambaſſadors to renew the treaty of friendſhip between the two nations; to treat of a league with the pope, and other princes of Chriſtendom, for the defence of religion and the Catholic church; of a marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary; of the reſtitution of Tournay, and ſome other places; and of an interview between him and the king of England.

Theſe commiſſioners were furniſhed with letters patent, by which Francis bound himſelf to pay, to his good friend the cardinal of York, a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in lieu of the profits of the adminiſtration of Tournay.

All theſe articles being fully adjuſted, four ſeparate treaties were ſigned and ratified on the fourteenth day of October.

By the firſt, the contracting parties engaged, that the marriage ſhould be ſolemnized as ſoon as the dauphin ſhould have attained the fourteenth year of his age; and whoever ſhould fail in the performance of his promiſe, ſhould be ſubject to a penalty of five hundred thouſand crowns: that

Mary's

Mary's portion ſhould amount to three hundred and thirty-three thouſand crowns of gold: and that her jointure ſhould be equal to that of any former queen of France, and particularly to the ſettlement which had been aſſigned to Anne of Bretagne, and Mary of England, who had been wives to Lewis the twelfth.

In the ſecond it was ſtipulated, that Henry ſhould reſtore Tournay, for which Francis ſhould pay ſix hundred thouſand crowns; but, from this ſum, he was allowed to deduct the portion of the princeſs Mary. The third contained ſome neceſſary precautions for preventing a breach of the peace, as well as for procuring a ſpeedy reparation of the damages that might be ſuſtained by the ſubjects of either power. And by the fourth it was agreed, that the two monarchs ſhould have an interview in the village of Sandenfelt, near Ardres in Picardy.

Theſe treaties were no ſooner ratified, than the princeſs Mary was affianced to the dauphin, in St. Paul's church at London; and the earl of Worceſter, with Nicholas Weſt, biſhop of Ely, the lord St. John, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir John Pechy, and Sir Thomas Bulleyn, was ſent to Paris to demand the conſent of Francis, who ſwore to the performance of the treaties, delivered

hostages for the payment of the money, and, in the name of his son, confirmed the contract of marriage.

Mean while, the pope sent cardinal Laurentius Campejus as his legate into England, in order, if possible, to persuade Henry to engage in a general league against the Infidels; and to demand a tenth of their revenues from the English clergy.

Wolsey was no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than he dispatched a messenger to Rome, with a remonstrance to his holiness, implying, that the appointment of another legate, while he resided cardinal in England, was such an affront as would entirely ruin his credit and influence, and deprive him of the power of promoting the interest of the holy see.

Leo, being afraid to offend such a favourite minister, joined him in the legation with Campejus, whom the English cardinal found means to detain at Boulogne, until the messenger returned with the pope's answer. Wolsey would have been better pleased to enjoy the legateship alone; but finding himself obliged to admit a colleague in the office, and hearing that Campejus was come with a very indifferent equipage, he was determined that the meanness of his

his appearance ſhould not reflect diſhonour on himſelf.

He therefore preſented the Italian with ſome bales of red cloth for garments to his ſervants, and twelve ſumpter mules richly capriſoned; with which he made a magnificent entry into London.

During the proceſſion, however, one of the mules happening to break looſe from his leader, overturned his carriage in Cheapſide; and the coffers flying open, diſcovered nothing but rags, old ſhoes, mouldy bread, and marrow-bones: a circumſtance which afforded an inexhauſtible fund of ſport and merriment to the people; who could not help comparing the cardinal's equipage to a painted ſepulchre.

So great was the influence which Wolſey had gained at the court of Rome, that, when cardinal Adrian de Cornetto was deprived of his hat and benefices, for having been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt his holineſs, the adminiſtration of the ſees of Bath and Wells, which he had enjoyed in England, was beſtowed upon the cardinal of York; and now he and his colleague Campejus received a freſh bull from the pope, permitting them to exerciſe the extraordinary power of granting plenary indulgences.

Their negotiation, however, did not succeed to their wish; for, though he had empowered them to conclude a league against the Turks, between the emperor and the kings of England, France, and Spain, all that they could effect was a defensive alliance for the protection of the Catholic church, and their respective dominions, in case they should be invaded by the Infidels.

The pope, who was declared chief of this league, was extremely vexed to find, that he could not persuade them to engage in an offensive association, by means of which he could have amassed considerable sums of money; but as all his endeavours for that purpose had proved ineffectual, he was glad to ratify the defensive alliance: and then the report of a projected invasion by the infidels immediately vanished.

Maximilian dying the beginning of the ensuing year,* the kings of France and Spain declared themselves candidates for the Imperial throne; and after some cabal and intrigue, the Spanish monarch was duly elected to the great mortification of his competitor, who, from that time, conceived an implacable hatred against him; and resolved to embrace the first opportunity of making him feel the effects of his resentment.

These

* A. D. 1519.

These two princes, however, were so equally matched, that a very small assistance would have been sufficient to render either of them too powerful for the other; and Henry of England, by a steady and prudent conduct, might have held the ballance between these potent rivals, so as to cause the scale to preponderate, according as the necessity of the times, or his own interest, should have required.

But this wise maxim he did not always pursue, because he was entirely under the influence of his favourite Wolsey, whose good graces Charles and Francis endeavoured to procure, with a profusion of presents, promises, and compliments, stiling him, in their letters, their friend, their patron, and their father; and extolling his virtue, prudence, and capacity, in the most fulsome and hyperbolical terms.

Though Wolsey was too sagacious not to perceive the insincerity of these professions, he did not fail to convert them to his own advantage. He artfully made use of them, not only to flatter his master's pride by remarking how formidable he must certainly be to these two potentates, who thus condescended to court his minister; but also to enhance his own merit in the opinion of Henry, who naturally concluded, that Wolsey's abilities must be greatly superior to those

those of all other favourites, since they were so universally acknowledged by the greatest princes of Christendom. The king, in effect, now considered himself as the arbiter of Europe; and was so fully satisfied of his favourite's capacity, that he saw nothing but with his eyes, and took no step without his advice.

Wolsey had now arrived at the highest pinnacle of fortune: he was favourite, prime-minister, lord high-chancellor, administrator of the see of Bath and Wells, archbishop of York, cardinal, and sole legate a latere, his collegue Campejus being by this time recalled.

He received an annual pension from the king of France, and derived immense profits from the office of chancellor, by means of the privileges annexed to it by his majesty; who, besides, not only loaded him with many rich and valuable presents, but likewise gave him a great number of opportunities of augmenting his revenues.

The pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republic of Venice, seemed to vie with each other in courting his friendship; and Francis, in particular, as a proof of his confidence, sent him letters patent, empowering him to settle the ceremonial of his interview with Henry; a circumstance

cumſtance in which ſovereigns are wont to be extremely jealous.

Wolſey's mind was ſo puffed up with this flow of proſperity, that his pride and arrogance became altogether unſupportable. He now celebrated maſs with all the pomp and magnificence of the ſovereign pontiff, being conſtantly ſerved by biſhops, and even earls and dukes preſented him with the water and towel.

Whenever he went into the city, he cauſed two croſſes, one for York, and another for his legatine function, to be carried before him by two tall prieſts, mounted on ſtately horſes, and richly capariſoned; a piece of pageantry with which the people did not fail to make merry by obſerving, that now one croſs was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins.

He erected a new court of judicature, ſtiled the legate's court, which was in effect a court of conſcience, that took cognizance of almoſt all the actions of life; and one John Allen, doctor of laws, being appointed judge of this bench, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and extortion, on pretence of reforming the manners of the people. He pretended, that his juriſdiction reached to all ſuits ariſing from wills and contracts of marriage; and tried an infinite number of cauſes which properly belonged

longed to other courts, while the king's judges were afraid to oppose his encroachments.

While his substitute thus harrassed the laity, the cardinal himself treated the clergy with no less rigour and severity. He bestowed all the benefices of the kingdom upon his own creatures, without paying the least regard to the rights of churches, monasteries, or patrons; nor durst any one complain to his majesty of these arbitrary and oppressive measures, until Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to inform him of the discontents of the people.

Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is "not so blind any where as in his own "house; but do you, father," subjoins he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell "him, if any thing be amiss, to take care "to amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: it only served to encrease Wolsey's hatred to Warham, against whom he was already provoked for having taken the liberty, in one of his letters, to subscribe himself, "your loving bro"ther." When Warham was informed of the offence he had given, he made light of the matter: "know ye not," said he, "that

"that this man is drunk with too much "prosperity."

The great power, wealth, and authority which Wolsey enjoyed in England, could not satisfy his ambition, while there was one degree of ecclesiastical dignity to which he had not yet attained.

He had already begun to concert measures for procuring the papacy, whenever the holy see should become vacant; and the king of France had promised him the votes of fourteen cardinals: but since Charles was chosen emperor, he seemed to think that prince more capable of advancing him to the papal throne, and began gradually to detach his master from the interests of France, and engage him in behalf of the house of Austria.

He would not, however, exert himself so far as to prevent the interview between Henry and Francis, because he could not deny himself the pleasure of appearing at the court of France with all the pomp of ecclesiastical grandeur, and of shewing his countrymen how much he was honoured and caressed by such a potent monarch. Nevertheless he determined to take such precautions as would effectually hinder Francis from turning this interview to the prejudice of the emperor, who at this time received an incredible accession of wealth by the bravery

bravery and conduct of Ferdnando Cortez, who subdued the Mexican empire.

Wolsey having settled the ceremonial of the interview, the king set out for Canterbury in the latter end of May,* in order to spend his Whitsuntide in that city, and from thence go over to Calais; but next day he was informed that the emperor had landed at Dover.

The whole court, and even the king himself, was surprized at the arrival of Charles, whose voyage had been previously concerted between that prince and the cardinal, for whom he had engaged to procure the rich bishopric of Badajos. Wolsey was immediately dispatched to compliment the emperor at Dover, where he was next day met by the king in person, who conducted him to Canterbory; whither, likewise, the queen came to pay her respects to her nephew, whom she had never seen before.

The emperor's aim in this visit, was to dissuade the king from his intended interview with Francis; from which, however, Henry imagined he could not recede with honour: but it is more than probable, that he effectually secured Wolsey in his interest, by promising to assist him with all his influence in his attempts upon the papacy; and

* A. D. 1520.

and Henry assured him, that he would never enter into any engagements with the French king, that might prove detrimental to his Imperial majesty.

After having been entertained with great pomp and magnificence during the holidays, he renewed the alliance between England and Germany: then he took leave of his aunt Catherine and Henry; and set sail for Flanders, highly pleased with the success of his voyage.

The same day Henry went over to Calais, with the queen and his whole court; and from thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended by the like splendid retinue, repaired to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay that compliment to Henry, in consideration of the English king's having crossed the sea, in order to come to the interview.

The two sovereigns, after having embraced each other in the most cordial and affectionate manner, withdrew into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and in which they held a long and private conference.

At this meeting, Henry propoſed to make ſome alteration in the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, "I Henry, king:" after pronouncing theſe words, which were the firſt of the treaty, he ſtopped a moment: He then ſubjoined only the words, "of England," without adding "France," the uſual title of the Engliſh monarch. Francis was pleaſed with this delicacy, and expreſſed his approbation by a ſmile.

Nor was it long before he took an opportunity of paying Henry a compliment of a more ſubſtantial nature. As he had a high ſenſe of honour himſelf, and was incapable of ſuſpecting others, he was extremely ſhocked at all the precautions which were obſerved whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch: the number of their guards and attendants was preciſely the ſame, and was always carefully counted on both ſides: every ſtep they advanced was meaſured with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs: and if the two kings propoſed to pay a viſit to the queens, they ſet out from their reſpective quarters at the ſame inſtant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paſſed each other in the middle point between the places; and at the ſame moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis arrived at Guiſnes.

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In order to break through this tedious and irkſome ceremony, which ſeemed to reflect upon the honour and fidelity of both princes, Francis, one day, attended only by two gentlemen and a page, rode directly into Guiſnes. The guards were confounded at the appearance of the French monarch, who called aloud to them, "You are "all my priſoners; carry me to your ma-"ſter."

Henry was no leſs ſurprized at the arrival of Francis, and, taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you have "here played me the moſt agreeable trick "in the world, and have fully convinced "me that I may repoſe the moſt entire "confidence in your friendſhip and inte-"grity. From this moment I ſurrender "myſelf your priſoner; and give you my "parole." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth fifteen thouſand angels;* and, putting it about that of Francis, begged he would wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis accepted the offer, on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was double in value to the collar.

* An angel was then eſtimated at ſeven ſhillings, or near twelve of our preſent money.

Next day the Engliſh king went to Ardres without any attendants; and mutual truſt and confidence being now eſtabliſhed between the two monarchs, they devoted the reſt of their time to tilts, tournaments and other diverſions.

On Monday the eleventh of June, the juſts began in preſence of the ladies, for whom ſcaffolds were erected. Both kings entered the liſts, and acquitted themſelves with great dexterity, though Henry bore away the honour of the day. He ran a tilt againſt Monſieur de Grandeville, whom he overcame at the ſecond encounter. He attacked Monſieur de Montmorency, whom nevertheleſs, he could not unhorſe.

He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who made him a preſent of his courſer, as a mark of his ſubmiſſion: he diſarmed Monſieur de Fleurange; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the other combatants in throwing the javelin, wielding the ſword and target, and fighting with the two-handed ſword, an exerciſe in which Francis likewiſe excelled.

This monarch, probably, imagined that it would be for his intereſt to gratify Henry's vanity, by allowing him to gain this petty preheminence. The tournaments being finiſhed, the two kings entertained each other with feaſting, balls, maſquerades, and other

other amuſements. They endeavoured to outſhine each other in pomp, ſplendour, and magnificence; inſomuch that the place of this interview was called the Field of Cloth of Gold.

Henry regaled the French monarch in a houſe of wood and canvas which had been framed in London, and on which he had placed a motto, under the figure of an Engliſh archer, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*; "he prevails whom I favour;" thereby expreſſing his own ſituation, as holding in his hands the ballance of power among the potentates of Europe.

In the midſt of theſe diverſions, however, they did not forget to ſettle ſome affairs of a political nature. They agreed, that after Francis ſhould have diſcharged the million of crowns, ſtipulated in the laſt treaty, he ſhould continue to pay to the king of England an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand livres; that, in caſe the dauphin ſhould become king of England, by his marriage with the princeſs Mary, this penſion ſhould be enjoyed by her and her heirs for ever; and that the diſputes between England and Scotland ſhould be ſubmitted to the arbitration of Louiſa of Savoy, mother to the king of France, and cardinal Wolſey.

Every thing being thus ſettled to their mutual ſatisfaction, they parted on the twenty-fourth day of June; and Henry, with his retinue, returned to Calais.

On the tenth day of July, the king repaid the viſit he had received from the emperor, by waiting on him and his aunt Margaret at Gravelines; and next day he conducted them to Calais, where he entertained them with great pomp and magnificence.

Francis was extremely jealous of theſe reciprocal viſits; and his jealouſy was far from being groundleſs: for, at this interview, they probably laid the foundation of that alliance which was concluded in the ſequel. Mean while Henry returned to his own kingdom; and Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned emperor with great ſolemnity on the twenty-firſt day of October.

Luther's doctrine being by this time propagated over the greateſt part of Germany, pope Leo, after having in vain endeavoured to cajole him by promiſes, and frighten him by threats, at laſt iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt him and all his adherents.

Then his holineſs deſired the elector of Saxony to put him to death, or ſend him

to

to Rome; but that prince refuſing to grant his requeſt, the papal nuncio cauſed Luther's books to be burned at Cologne; and Luther, in revenge, committed the pope's bull and the decretals to the flames at Wirtemberg, and publiſhed a book in vindication of his conduct.

He was protected by the elector of Saxony, who earneſtly wiſhed for a reformation in the church: he was aſſiſted in his endeavours by Ulricus, Zuinglius, and Philip Melancthon, a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety and learning; and he was encouraged to perſevere by Eraſmus, who aſſured him he had many diſciples in England and the Low-Countries; and adviſed him to proceed with prudence and circumſpection.

The emperor was no ſooner crowned than he convoked a council at Worms; where, in compliance with the deſire of the pope, he ſummoned Luther before the aſſembly, and furniſhed him with a ſafe-conduct for that purpoſe: he accordingly made his appearance, and refuſing to renounce his tenets, was, with his diſciples, proſcribed by public edict.*

Every zealous papiſt now entered the liſts againſt this reformer; and, among the reſt, Henry

* A. D. 1521.

Henry king of England undertook the defence of the Roman Church. He was particularly enraged againſt Luther for the ſeverity with which he had treated Thomas Aquinas, an author held in great eſtimation both by the king and the cardinal. Thus provoked, he wrote a book, de Septem Sacramentis, in which he boldly attacked Luther in the article of indulgences, the number of ſacraments, and the papal authority.

This work, in the compoſition of which he is ſuppoſed to have been aſſiſted by the joint labours of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, Stephen Gardiner, and Sir Thomas More, was preſented by John Clark, dean of Windſor, in full conſiſtory, to the pope, who received it with marks of the greateſt regard; and by the unanimous conſent of the college of cardinals, iſſued a bull, in which he conferred upon Henry the honourable title of *Fidei Defenſor*, or "Defender of the "Faith:" an appellation ſtill retained by the kings of England.

The violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king, ſoon broke forth into action. Theſe two princes invaded the dominions of each other with numerous armies; and after they had

had gratified their ambition by making ſome petty conqueſts, and glutted their revenge by committing the moſt terrible ravages and devaſtations, they preferred their complaints to the king of England, as the moſt proper perſon for deciding the difference between them.

Henry, who affected to obſerve an exact neutrality, prevailed upon them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Calais, in order to treat of a peace under the mediation of Wolſey and the pope's nuncio. But the emperor, who was well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of theſe mediators, inſiſted on ſuch high and unreaſonable terms, that Francis abſolutely refuſed to agree to the conditions he offered.

This refuſal furniſhed Wolſey with a pretext for throwing the blame of continuing the war on Francis; and he, ſoon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he concluded a league between Henry and the emperor againſt France, by which the king of England obliged himſelf to invade the dominions of Francis with an army of forty thouſand men; and to beſtow upon Charles, the princeſs Mary, his only child, who had now ſome proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne. This ſtrange alliance, which was prejudicial to the intereſts, and might have proved fa-

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tal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the effect of the humours and prejudices of the king, and of the ſelfiſh and intereſted views of the cardinal.

The people were every day alarmed with freſh inſtances of the abſolute and unlimited authority of this miniſter. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had been ſo unfortunate as to incur the reſentment of Wolſey, who ſoon made him feel the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance.

The duke ſeems to have been a man of ſtrong paſſions and weak intellects; and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he maintained a correſpondence with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian monk, who flattered him with the hopes of one day aſcending the throne of England. He was ſprung by a female branch from the duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward the third; and though his claim to the crown, derived from that origin, was extremely remote, he had been ſo imprudent as to drop ſome expreſſions as if he thought himſelf, in the event of the king's dying without iſſue, beſt intitled to poſſeſs the ſovereign authority.

He had even been ſo inexcuſable as to let fall ſome threats againſt the king's life, and had furniſhed himſelf with arms, which he

he purpoſed to employ, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould occur.

For theſe crimes he was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had eſpouſed Buckingham's daughter, was appointed high-ſteward in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury was compoſed of one duke, one marquis, ſeven earls and twelve barons, who, after having examined the charge and evidence, paſſed ſentence of death upon Buckingham, which was ſoon after carried into execution.

There is no reaſon to doubt the equity of this ſentence; but as Buckingham's crime ſeemed rather to be owing to imprudence than deliberate malice, the people, who loved that nobleman, hoped that the king would indulge him with a pardon, and imputed his unhappy fate to the ill offices of the cardinal, whom they openly libelled as the ſon of a butcher, delighting in blood.

The king's own jealouſy, however, againſt all pretenders to his crown, was, notwithſtanding his undoubted title, extremely remarkable during the whole courſe of his reign; and was of itſelf ſufficient to render him implacable againſt Buckingham. The office of conſtable which Buckingham inherited from the Bohuns earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never afterwards revived.

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By this time Henry resolved to avow the league he had concluded with the emperor.* He alledged in his own vindication, that Francis was the first who had committed hostilities; and that he had likewise rejected the terms of peace which had lately been offered; but he was really enraged against the French monarch for suffering the duke of Albany to return to Scotland from France, where he had been detained for some years at the desire of Henry, who wanted to avail himself of the regent's absence in order to procure an ascendant in the Scottish council.

Besides, he suspected that he designed to marry his sister, the queen dowager of Scotland, because she had applied to the pope for a divorce from her husband, the earl of Angus; and the duke of Albany had seconded her suit at the court of Rome. Notwithstanding the pains which the regent took to vindicate himself from this charge, by declaring that he had no such intention, and that his own wife was still alive; the king of England sent a letter to the Scottish parliament, accusing the duke of having formed a design upon the crown, to the prejudice of the lawful heir; and requiring them to banish him the realm.

To

* A. D. 1522.

To this demand they replied, that the intelligence he had received concerning the deſigns of the duke of Albany, was entirely without foundation; that he himſelf had acted againſt the intereſts of his own nephew, by exciting diſſenſions in his kingdom; and that, if he was not diſpoſed to prolong the truce with the regent, they would endeavour to defend their country againſt all the attempts of its enemies.

He had no ſooner received this anſwer, together with a letter from his ſiſter, upbraiding him with his baſe and diſingenuous conduct, than he ordered the lord Dacres to advance, with a body of five hundred men, to the borders, and proclaim, that if the Scottiſh parliament ſhould not agree to a peace within a certain time, they ſhould have cauſe to repent of their folly.

His intention was to afford a pretence to his own party in that kingdom, to refuſe to obey the regent, ſhould he preſume to make a diverſion in favour of Francis; and, indeed, his ſtratagem had the deſired effect.

The duke of Albany having aſſembled an army to make an inroad into England, they no ſooner approached the frontiers, than many of the principal noblemen re-

 fuſed

fused to advance a step farther, alledging, in excuse, that it would be extremely impolitic to involve their country in an unnecessary war with England.

The regent finding it impossible to assist his French ally in this manner, agreed to a truce; and then set out for Paris, in order to concert fresh measures with Francis; while Henry, by a stroke of politics equally dextrous and successful, prevented a war with Scotland, which would have greatly interrupted the prosecution of his other projects.

The French king being apprized of what had passed between the emperor and the English monarch at Bruges, sent letters patent to Henry, in which he inserted the article of the treaty of London, by which they bound themselves to aid and assist each other in case of necessity; then he particularized every act of hostility which the emperor had committed against him; and summoned the king of England to fulfil the treaty to which he had so solemnly sworn.

Henry alledged that Francis was the first aggressor, and, as he had broken his promise with regard to the duke of Albany, the English monarch sent over Clarencieux, the herald, to declare war against him as a disturber of the peace of Europe.

In

In order to defray the expences of this war, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, iſſued warrants to all ſheriffs and conſtables, to number the people from the age of ſixteen and upwards, and ſpecify the effects of each individual, that he might borrow a tenth of the laity, and a fourth of the clergy, beſides the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, which he extorted, by the polite name of a benevolence, from the citizens of London.

This dangerous expedient occaſioned great diſcontents among the people, who bitterly inveighed againſt Wolſey, as the author of the grievance; and the merchants of London flatly refuſed to ſpecify the value of their effects, alledging, that, as their ſubſtance was employed in different branches of trade, it could not be properly aſcertained; ſo that Henry, afraid of raiſing inteſtine commotions in the kingdom, was glad to levy the loan with a more gentle and delicate hand than he at firſt intended; and to accept of ſuch a ſum as the merchants were pleaſed to contribute to his ſervice.

Wolſey was not ſo much vexed at this miſcarriage, as at his diſappointment with regard to the papacy. Though the emperor had engaged to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt, he had no intention to perform his promiſe.

He wanted to have a pope who ſhould be entirely at his devotion; and he was too well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of Wolſey, to think he could ever manage ſuch a pontiff: he therefore determined to advance his own preceptor, Adrian Florentius, a native of Utrecht, to the papal chair; and to conduct his election in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not expoſe himſelf to the danger of loſing the friendſhip of Wolſey, who had reminded him of his promiſe; and ſent Richard Pace to ſupport his intereſt at Rome, immediately after the death of Leo.

Charles conducted himſelf, on this occaſion, with ſo much policy and addreſs, that Adrian was unanimouſly elected pope in the conclave, without the emperor's ſeeming to interfere in the matter.

The very choice, however, of this perſon, plainly diſcovered the director of the election; and, doubtleſs, Wolſey muſt have been equally chagrined and enraged againſt Charles; tho' he thought proper to conceal his reſentment, in hopes of being able to avail himſelf of the emperor's good offices on ſome future occaſion, as the new pontiff, Adrian the fourth, was old and infirm.

On the other hand, Charles was deſirous to maintain a friendly correſpondence with the

the Engliſh cardinal, conſcious, as he was, of the great credit which that prelate had with his maſter, and that it would entirely depend upon his pleaſure, whether or not he ſhould live on good terms with Henry.

It was, therefore, with a view to ſtrengthen this friendſhip, that the emperor, in his voyage to Spain, paid a new viſit to England; and, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he repeated to Wolſey all the promiſes which he had formerly made him, of ſupporting his pretenſions to the papal throne.

At the ſame time, he renewed the treaty concluded at Bruges, to which ſome new articles were added; and he engaged to indemnify both the king and Wolſey, for the revenues they ſhould loſe by a rupture with France.

The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was created knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he ſet ſail from Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon ſuppreſſed the commotions which had ariſen in his abſence.

In consequence of the agreement between Henry and the emperor, the earl of Surrey was sent over to Calais, with a body of forces, to join the count de Bure, the Imperial general; and these having wasted part of Picardy, undertook the siege of Hesdin, which, however, they were soon obliged to abandon.

Then they attacked Dourlens, which they took and burned, together with Marquise, and some other paltry villages; but as the season was now far advanced, the earl of Surrey retired with his troops to Calais, and soon after returned to England.

Wolsey, finding that his late method of raising money had given great offence to the people, persuaded the king to summon a parliament, which assembled in Black Friars on the fifteenth day of April.* The clergy meeting in convocation at the same time, Wolsey demanded a subsidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years; and, though this unreasonable demand was strongly opposed by Fox and Fisher, bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the assembly was so overawed by his great power, and revengeful temper, that they were glad to grant his request.

Having

* A. D. 1523.

Having thus ſucceeded in the convocation, he repaired to he houſe of commons, in which he made a long ſpeech, explaining the inſults which the king had received from Francis, the neceſſity of undertaking a war againſt that monarch; and concluded with requiring one fifth of all lay-effects, payable in four years.

This extravagant demand, though ſeconded by Sir Thomas More the ſpeaker, met with great oppoſition from all the other members; yet, after long and violent debates, the commons reſolved that every perſon, poſſeſſed of twenty pounds and upwards of yearly rent, ſhould pay two ſhillings in the pound; that thoſe who enjoyed above two pounds, ſhould pay one ſhilling in the pound; and that all ſuch as were under that ſum, and above the age of ſixteen, ſhould be aſſeſſed at four pence a head, to be paid in three years.

The cardinal provoked at their preſumption in daring to reject his propoſal, returned again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to grant his requeſt; but he was told it was a rule of the houſe never to reaſon but among themſelves; and he was obliged to retire, extremely chagrined at his diſappointment.

The commons, however, in order to ſhew their zeal for the king's ſervice, enlarged their

their former grant, and voted an impoſition of three ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of an annual rent of fifty pounds and upwards.*

In this ſeſſion, ſome ſtatutes were enacted in behalf of deniſons, who dealt in the ſame commodities that were ſold by foreigners; for the regulation of the coin; for the convenience of ſoldiers in the king's ſervice; for attainting the late duke of Buckingham, and reinſtating his ſon lord Henry Stafford in the poſſeſſion of his honours

* It is ſaid, that when Henry was informed of the commons having refuſed to grant the required ſupply, he was ſo incenſed that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had great intereſt in the houſe; and addreſſed himſelf to that gentleman in the following manner: "Ho! man! "will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?" and laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: "Get my bill paſſed by to-mor- "row," ſays he, "or elſe to-morrow this head "of yours ſhall be off."

We are likewiſe told by Hall, that cardinal Wolſey endeavoured to frighten the citizens of London into a general loan, by telling them that "it were better that "ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the king, at "this time, ſhould lack; and therefore beware and "reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe, for it may "fortune to coſt ſome people their heads." Such was the haughty and tyrannical ſtile employed by this arbitrary king, and his imperious miniſter, to the free-born natives of England!

ours and eſtate; and for empowering the ing to annul attainders by his letters pa- ent under the great ſeal.

About this period, Henry, by the advice of the cardinal and other learned men, inſtituted the college of phyſicians: to whom he granted by charter ſeveral valuable privileges, which they enjoy to this day. Pope Adrian continued Wolſey's legation for five years, and conferred upon him the rich biſhopric of Durham, in lieu of the ſee of Bath and Wells, which he reſigned.

Chriſtiern, king of Sweden and Denmark, being expelled from both his kingdoms on account of his tyranny and oppreſſion, repaired to England with his queen, who was ſiſter to the emperor; and for that reaſon they were received in a very friendly and hoſpitable manner.

Henry affected to conſider Chriſtiern not only as the lawful, but the actual ſovereign of Sweden and Denmark; in that capacity he renewed with him the treaty of alliance between the Engliſh and the Danes; and after they had received ſome valuable preſents, they ſet out on their return to Flanders.

Mean while, the French king having formed a deſign to attempt the recovery of Milan, reſolved to march into that country at the head of a numerous army; but

but hearing that the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, whom he had perſecuted with the moſt cruel and unrelenting ſeverity, intended to raiſe a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, he thought proper to poſtpone his departure; and contented himſelf with ſending his forces into the Milaneſe, under the conduct of admiral Bonnivet, who reduced a great number of places without oppoſition.

This general, however, was ſoon interrupted in his conqueſts by the Imperial troops under the direction of the duke of Bourbon, who, finding it impoſſible to execute his original intention of exciting an inſurrection in France, had fled into Germany, where Charles promoted him to the chief command of his army.

Bourbon acquitted himſelf of this important truſt with equal ability and ſucceſs; for, by his vigorous and prudent conduct, he ſoon compelled the French forces to repaſs the Alps, and even purſued them into their own country.

With regard to the campaign in Picardy, the king of England ſent an army of ſix hundred demi-lances, two hundred archers on horſeback, three thouſand on foot, five thouſand billmen, and about half that number of pioneers, to Calais, under the conduct of the earl of Surrey, who draughted

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an addition of seventeen hundred soldiers from that garrison; and with these he invaded the enemy's country.

Soon after his arrival on the Continent, he was joined by the count de Bure, with such a number of troops, as together with the English, composed an army of about twenty thousand men. Thus strengthened, the duke proceeded along the banks of the Soam, and invested Bray, which he took by storm; then crossing the river, he reduced Roye and Montdidier; and at length advanced within eleven leagues of Paris without meeting with the least interruption, except in a skirmish with a body of French, commanded by Monsieur de Pontdormy, who was routed at the first attack.

Francis, terrified at their rapid progress, detached from Lyons the duke de Vendome, with all the troops he could collect for the defence of his capital; and as the season was now far advanced, and the cold become extremely severe, the allies were obliged to retreat, tho' not before they had subdued Bouchain: but all the places they had garrisoned were immediately recovered by the French general.

Mean while pope Adrian died, not without suspicion of poison, and the conclave was split into two separate parties, one of which favoured cardinal Colonna, and the other

other Julio de Medicis, baſtard of pope Leo's uncle; the latter of whom, after a debate of fifty days, was choſen pope, and aſſumed the name of Clement VII.

Wolſey was no ſooner informed of Adrian's death, than he perſuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the emperor, recommending him in the ſtrongeſt manner to the papal throne; but Charles had already eſpouſed the cauſe of Julio; and the Engliſh cardinal affected to bear his diſappointment with all the reſignation of a hermit.

Though, in all likelihood, his heart was inflamed with revenge againſt the emperor, he concealed his reſentment; and the king's reſident at Rome was ordered to offer his compliments of congratulation to the new pope, from whom he received a perpetual grant of the legatine power, which had never been beſtowed for life upon any other perſon.

Europe was, at this time, ſo intimately connected by intereſt and alliances, that it was almoſt impoſſible for war to be kindled in one part, without diffuſing itſelf through the whole: but of all the leagues among different kingdoms, the cloſeſt was that which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and Scotland; and the Engliſh, when engaged in war with the former nation, could

not

not expect to remain long unmoleſted on the northern frontier.

In order, if poſſible, to diſſolve this connection, which was ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of England, Henry ſent an army into Scotland, under the command of the earl of Surrey, who overran the Merſe and Teviotdale without oppoſition, and reduced the town of Jedburgh to aſhes.

The Scotch had neither king nor regent to conduct them: the two Humes had been put to death: the earl of Angus had been carried over to France by the duke of Albany, and was kept in a kind of honourable confinement: no nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to manage the reins of government: and the Engliſh monarch, who knew the diſtreſt ſituation of the country, was reſolved to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of inducing them, by a ſenſe of their preſent misfortunes, to make a ſolemn renunciation of the French alliance, and embrace the friendſhip of England.

He even flattered them with the proſpect of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms: and the queen dowager, with her whole party, ſtrongly recommended the advantages of

this alliance, and of a confederacy with England.

This project, however, was keenly oppoſed by the contrary party, who alledged that ſuch a meaſure would entirely ruin the liberty and independence of the kingdom, and render it a province of England.

Theſe two parties were ſo equally matched in point of number and influence, that the leaſt weight would have been ſufficient to turn the ballance; and this, at length, was effectually done by the arrival of the duke of Albany, who came over from France, and, by the advice of the eſtates, aſſembled an army, in order to retort the ravages which the Engliſh had lately committed.

With this view, he conducted his forces towards the borders; but when they were croſſing the Tweed, at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party were again able to raiſe ſuch an oppoſition, that Albany was obliged to retreat.

He marched downwards, along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and encamped his army oppoſite to Werk-caſtle, the fortifications of which had been lately repaired by the earl of Surrey.

He detached a body of troops to beſiege that fortreſs, which they accordingly attacked with great bravery, and would probably have

have ſubdued, had they not been recalled by the regent, who, hearing of the approach of an Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh.

In a few weeks after this miſcarriage, he departed for France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottiſh nation, diſtracted by their own inteſtine diſſenſions, were not able, for a number of years, to give any more diſturbance to England; and Henry was at full liberty to proſecute his other ſchemes, in conjunction with his allies on the Continent.

The king of France being freed, by the flight of the duke of Bourbon, from all fears of domeſtic commotions, determined to undertake the conqueſt of Milan in perſon.* With this view he advanced into that country, at the head of forty thouſand men; and, after having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places of ſmaller conſequence, inveſted the city of Pavia, which was one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Italy.

The duke of Bourbon, with a more numerous army of Imperialiſts and allies, reſolved to attack him in his intrenchments, and compel him to raiſe the ſiege: and this

* A. D. 1524.

reſolution he executed with ſo much courage and conduct, that the troops of Francis were entirely defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.*

This unexpected event produced a ſudden change in the politics of England. Henry had hitherto aſſiſted the emperor, in order to check the bold and enterprizing ſpirit of Francis: but now that prince was not only humbled, but almoſt reduced to abſolute ruin; and, beſides, the power of Charles was become ſo formidable, as to threaten the general liberties of Europe.

He therefore determined to abandon the cauſe of the emperor, and eſpouſe the intereſt of the French monarch; and in this reſolution he was further confirmed by the perſuaſion of his favourite Wolſey, who wanted to be revenged upon Charles for the ill offices he had done him in the affair of the papacy.

Thus prompted by his own inclination, and the advice of the cardinal, he ſignified his ſentiments to the queen-mother of France, who was entruſted with the regency of that kingdom, and who immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of London with full powers to negociate and conclude an alliance with the king of England.

Henry

* A. D. 1525.

Henry committed the management of this, as of every other affair, to his miniſter Wolſey; and after ſome conferences on the ſubject, five ſeparate treaties were ſigned at Moore on the thirtieth day of Auguſt.

The firſt contained a league offenſive and defenſive between France and England, including the allies of both princes. The ſecond related to the payment of the ſums due to Henry by the king of France, as ſpecified in ſeveral treaties of a former date.

In lieu of theſe the regent promiſed, in her ſon's name, to pay to Henry two millions of crowns of gold, at different terms; and that, in caſe of Henry's dying before the debt ſhould be fully diſcharged, the remainder ſhould be made good to his heirs and ſucceſſors: whereas, ſhould he ſurvive the payment of the whole ſum, he ſhould afterwards receive a penſion of one hundred thouſand crowns for life.

By the third treaty, the regent bound herſelf to pay up all the arrears of jointure due to Henry's ſiſter Mary, queen dowager of France, and to take meaſures for remitting her allowance more regularly for the future.

The fourth imported, that the king of Scotland ſhould be conſidered as an ally of France, and comprehended in this agreement, provided the ſubjects of that prince ſhould

abſtain from all acts of hoſtility againſt England after the twenty-fifth day of December. In the fifth treaty, the court of France engaged, that it would not, directly or indirectly, conſent to the return of the duke of Albany to Scotland during the minority of James the fifth.

All theſe treaties were ratified upon oath by the regent of France, and confirmed by the parliament of Paris, Tholouſe, and Bourdeaux: the noblemen and cities bound themſelves by letters patent to adhere to them; and Francis ſent a ratification of them under his own hand, in a writing dated on the twenty-ſeventh day of December.

The regent of France had too much ſenſe, if not gratitude, to forget the good offices of cardinal Wolſey on this occaſion. She obliged herſelf to pay the arrears of the penſion which had been granted to him in lieu of the adminiſtration of Tournay, and for other weighty reaſons, engaged to gratify him with the additional ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

This preſent ſerved to comfort him for the grief he had lately ſuffered from the king's diſpleaſure. The public treaſury being almoſt empty, Henry committed the care of recruiting it to the management of Wolſey.

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That miniſter, inſtead of applying to parliament, from which he had already received a repulſe, iſſued a decree, in the king's name, to levy, through the whole realm, one ſixth of all lay-revenues, and a fourth of the clergys effects.

This impoſition was conſidered as ſuch a violent incroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and ſuch a flagrant violation of the Magna Charta, that it produced a general clamour over the whole nation, and had almoſt occaſioned a rebellion.

The king being apprized of the commotions among the people, iſſued a proclamation diſavowing the commiſſions publiſhed in his name; declaring, that he would never exact any thing of his people by force; and requiring nothing but what they ſhould be pleaſed to contribute in the way of benevolence, an expedient which had been uſed in the reign of Edward IV.

This, however, was no other than an artifice to extort, under a plauſible name, what the ſubjects had refuſed to give under that of a commiſſion: for certain ſums were exacted at the king's pleaſure; ſo that the benevolence was nearly equal to what had been demanded in the way of authority.

The magiſtrates of London refuſed to ſubmit to the impoſition, alledging, that the practice of raiſing money by benevolence had been aboliſhed by Richard III.

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The cardinal replied, that Richard was a tyrant and uſurper, and, of conſequence, that his laws could never limit the royal prerogative. He endeavoured, partly by threats, and partly by promiſes, to perſuade the mayor and aldermen to comply with his meaſures: yet, before he could carry his point, an inſurrection happened in the neighbourhood of London; but the inſurgents were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and ſome of them committed to priſon.

The king thinking it neceſſary to ſhew, that he did not intend to violate the privileges of the people, declared in council, that no perſon ſhould be puniſhed for this inſurrection; and the priſoners were diſmiſſed, after they had appeared at the council-board, and been ſharply reprimanded for their preſumption. The cardinal affected to become ſurety for their good behaviour; and endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, by alledging, that he had done nothing without the advice of the judges.

The people no ſooner heard that the king diſapproved of the cardinal's proceedings, than a great number of complaints were preferred againſt that prelate. Allen his chaplain, and inſtrument of oppreſſion, was ſo vigorouſly proſecuted in a court of judicature, for his violence and extortion, that the affair became the general topic of

converſation; and at length reached the ears of Henry, who was at great pains to inquire into the particulars.

In the courſe of this ſcrutiny, he diſcovered ſo many inſtances of Wolſey's tyranny and oppreſſion, that he burſt forth into the moſt violent tranſports of paſſion, and had well nigh deprived that miniſter of all his profits and employments.

Unacquainted, as he was, with the arbitrary meaſures of the cardinal, he had hitherto imagined that the people were happy and contented under his mild and gentle adminiſtration; but now that he was ſatisfied of the contrary, he was highly incenſed againſt the favourite, who could not appeaſe his maſter's wrath without the moſt humble and abject ſubmiſſions. He produced his will, in which he had left all his ſubſtance to the king; and, at length, found means to convince him, that all the extortions of which he had been guilty, were entirely owing to his deſire of increaſing his maſter's inheritance.

No ſooner had the cardinal weathered this ſtorm, than he took care to remove from the royal preſence all thoſe whom he ſuſpected of diſaffection to his intereſt; and, as a proof of his loyalty, he preſented the king with the palace of Hampton-court, which he had juſt finiſhed, and in exchange

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for which he received from Henry the palace of Richmond, together with the warmeſt expreſſions of eſteem and regard.

About this time, the king created his natural ſon Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, earl of Nottingham, lieutenant-general beyond the Trent, warden of the Scottiſh Marches, and afterwards admiral of England, though he was but in the ſixth year of his age.

As he had no legitimate ſon, he was extremely fond of this child, who was the fruit of an amour with Mrs. Elizabeth Blount, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow of Sir Gilbert Talboys, a lady, whoſe perſonal accompliſhments were only exceeded by the endowments of her mind.

Had the French monarch been ſo prudent as to remain in confinement until his own ſubjects, in conjunction with thoſe of Henry, could have exerted themſelves in his favour, the emperor, perhaps, might have been compelled to ſet him at liberty on very eaſy terms; but his impatience was ſo great, that, without waiting for the interpoſition of his friends, he agreed to accept of whatever conditions the emperor was pleaſed to impoſe. Theſe were; that he ſhould reſign to Charles the dutchy of Burgundy, and the ſupremacy of Flanders and Artois, and eſpouſe Eleonora, the ſiſter of

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that prince; that he ſhould renounce his pretenſions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, Ath, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin; perſuade Henry d'Albert to give up the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor; reinſtate the duke of Bourbon, the prince of Orange, and Anthony de Saluces, in the poſſeſſion of their territories; pay two millions of crowns for his ranſom, beſides five hundred thouſand crowns which Charles owed to the king of England; furniſh the emperor with twelve gallies, four great ſhips of war, and a land army, when he ſhould repair to Rome, in order to receive the Imperial crown, or two hundred thouſand crowns in lieu of the army; and, as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe articles, deliver his two ſons as hoſtages.*

The laſt condition being immediately executed, Francis was ſent back to his own dominions; where he had no ſooner arrived than he diſclaimed the whole agreement as the effect of compulſion, leaving his ſons to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the emperor, provoked at the perfidious conduct of the father, might be tempted to inflict.

Charles having thus triumphed over his moſt formidable enemy, reſolved to chaſtiſe thoſe allies who had deſerted him in the time of danger. Of theſe the moſt conſiderable

* A. D. 1526.

derable was the Roman pontiff, who, tho' he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had been so ungrateful as to abandon the interest of his benefactor, and espouse the cause of the French monarch.

In order to punish his holiness for this instance of perfidy and ingratitude, Charles commanded his general, the duke of Bourbon, to advance towards the city of Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed his commission with equal bravery and conduct; and, though he lost his life in the attempt, the prince of Orange, who succeeded him in the command, continued the assault with so much vigour and resolution, that the city was at length stormed and sacked, and the pope himself made prisoner.*

The kings of France and England were so greatly alarmed at the rapid run of success which constantly attended the emperor's arms, that they now engaged in a fresh league to oppose the growing power of that formidable monarch, and to procure the release of his holiness; and though the pope, in the midst of these negociations, found means to make his escape, the two sovereigns went so far as to declare war against

* A. D. 1527.

gainſt Charles in form: but as it was impoſſible to tranſport, in time, any Engliſh troops into Italy, which was meant to be the ſcene of their military operations, Charles exerted himſelf with ſo much ſpirit and activity, that he entirely expelled the French from that country.*

Mean while, Henry's attention was engaged by an affair of a more domeſtic, and to him of a more important nature. This was no other than a divorce from his queen Catharine, with whom he had lived for the ſpace of eighteen years.

Some Popiſh writers, in order to defame the memory of Henry, and leſſen the merit of the Reformation in England, have ventured to affirm, that the king's pretended ſcruples were entirely owing to his paſſion for Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a young lady who had been brought up in France; and was, at this time, a maid of honour to queen Catharine.

They have likewiſe preſumed, with equal impudence and falſhood, to repreſent her perſon as extremely diſagreeable, and her morals as very exceptionable; and in the courſe of their obloquy, have been guilty of ſeveral inconſiſtencies, which have been fully

 expoſed

* A. D. 1528.

expoſed and refuted by authors of more credit and veracity. Theſe have not only diſproved the allegations of her enemies, but have alſo ſhewn that Henry was reſolved upon the divorce before Anne Boleyn returned to England.

The king, notwithſtanding his good ſenſe, had a ſtrong mixture of ſuperſtition in his character, and could not help conſidering the death of his two ſons as a mark of the divine diſpleaſure at his inceſtuous marriage with his brother's widow. He was extremely deſirous of having male iſſue, that all diſputes about the ſucceſſion might be effectually prevented.

He was alarmed at the obſervations of ſeveral pious and learned men, who ſeemed to entertain ſome doubts concerning the legitimacy of his daughter: he was tired of the enjoyment of Catharine, who was not poſſeſſed of many perſonal charms; he was a prince of violent and head-ſtrong paſſions, and longed to be united with a lady of more endearing qualifications, by whom he might be bleſſed with male iſſue, againſt whoſe legitimacy no reaſonable objection could be made.

His ſcruples of conſcience, firſt excited by the writings of Thomas Aquenas, were further confirmed by the ſuggeſtions of Wolſey, who hated the queen becauſe ſhe had reproached

proached him with his abandoned and licentious way of living; and was likewiſe inflamed with reſentment againſt her nephew the emperor, who had twice diſappointed him in his deſigns upon the papacy.

Henry imagined he could never find a more favourable opportunity for obtaining a divorce than the preſent conjuncture; when the emperor's power was become ſo formidable as to threaten the general liberties of Europe, and the ſecurity of the pope and his dominions depended, in a great meaſure, upon the aſſiſtance of England and her allies: perhaps too he was by this time captivated by the charms of Anne Boleyn, who now began to outſhine all her contemporaries as well in mental as perſonal accompliſhments.

Whatever be in this, he profeſſed ſcruples of conſcience concerning the legality of his marriage, and ordered archbiſhop Warham, who had at firſt proteſted againſt the nuptials, to conſult the biſhops of England on the ſubject. The primate obeyed his order; and in a few days preſented him with a writing, in which they condemned the marriage, as contrary to all laws both human and divine. This declaration was ſubſcribed by all the prelates, except Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, whoſe name is ſaid to have been counterfeited by cardinal Wolſey.

The next point was to obtain the conſent and approbation of the Roman pontiff, and with this view doctor Knight was diſpatched to the court of Rome, with four papers to be ſigned by his holineſs.

The firſt was a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, to try and decide the affair in conjunction with ſome Engliſh biſhops. The ſecond was a decretal bull, declaring the marriage between the king and Catharine to be null and void, inaſmuch as the nuptials of that princeſs with his brother Arthur had been previouſly conſummated. The third contained a diſpenſation for Henry's eſpouſing another wife. And in the fourth the pope promiſed never to revoke the other three conceſſions.

Clement was equally afraid of diſobeying the king of England or the emperor, one of whom he behoved neceſſarily to offend, ſhould he abſolutely declare either for or againſt the divorce. He therefore determined to ſpin out the affair in order to gain time, until he ſhould have compromiſed his difference with Charles; and then to purſue ſuch a courſe as he ſhould find moſt conducive to his own intereſt.

He accordingly ſigned the commiſſion, and the bull of diſpenſation for the king, promiſing to ſend the other decretal bull for annulling the marriage, as

ſoon

ſoon as he ſhould have conſidered the ſubject with proper attention.

Henry not ſatisfied with this reply, diſpatched Stephen Gardiner, and Edward Fox to Rome, deſiring his holineſs to grant his requeſt without any limitation. Clement thus importuned appointed Wolſey and Campejus his legates a latere, conſtituting them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce; and for that purpoſe veſting them with his whole authority. Nevertheleſs, he privately enjoined Campejus to protract the matter as long as poſſible; and to forbear giving ſentence of the divorce, until he ſhould receive freſh orders under the hand of his holineſs.

Campejus arriving in England, began his legation, by exhorting the king to live in harmony and concord with Catharine; and to deſiſt from his proſecution of the divorce. This advice having proved ineffectual, he endeavoured to perſuade the queen to agree to the ſeparation; but his counſel was rejected by Catharine, who replied, that ſhe was the king's lawful life, and ſo would remain, until ſhe ſhould be declared otherwiſe by the pope's ſentence.

Henry, vexed at theſe tedious and dilatory proceedings, ſent Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes to the court of Rome to diſcover, if poſſible, the real ſentiments of his

holineſs; to ſearch the pope's chancery for a pretended brief, which, as the Spaniards alledged, confirmed the diſpenſation for Catharine's marriage, granted by pope Julius; and to propoſe ſome plauſible expedients for facilitating the determination of the divorce.

Theſe agents, however, found it impoſſible to dive into the real deſigns of Clement: the queſtions they propoſed to able canoniſts, were, Whether, if the queen ſhould take the veil, the king might be at liberty to eſpouſe another wife? Whether, if the king and queen ſhould jointly take the vows, the pope would grant him a diſpenſation to marry again, during the life of Catharine? and, Whether the pope could indulge him with the liberty of having two wives at once? The anſwers to theſe queſtions were never made public. But the pope's chancery being ſearched, no brief appeared; and the Engliſh envoys procured authentic certificates of this particular.

Mean while, the pope being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, Wolſey renewed his cabals and intrigues for ſucceeding him in the papal chair; but all his hopes were again blaſted by the recovery of Clement, who, from that time, began to look upon the cardinal with an evil eye, and to regard him

him as a dangerous rival, who might one day ſupplant him on pretence of his baſtardy, for which he had already been reproached, and even threatened with depoſition, by the emperor.* Nevertheleſs, he thought it prudent to conceal his reſentment; and, as a mark of his regard for Henry and his favourite, he forthwith expedited the neceſſary bulls for confirming Wolſey in the biſhopric of Wincheſter, which he had juſt received on the death of Richard Fox, the late incumbent.

Henry, having nothing further to expect from the court of Rome, recalled his ambaſſadors, and in their place diſpatched Bennet with a letter to his holineſs from the two cardinals, who alledged, that the chief difficulty in the cauſe, was to determine how far the authority of the head of the church extended; and, as this was a matter above their cognizance, they perſuaded his holineſs to evoke the cauſe before his own tribunal, not doubting but the king would agree to this evocation; provided he might be previouſly aſſured that the cauſe would be determined in his favour.

What could induce Wolſey to give an adviſe ſo contrary to the intereſt and inclination of the king, it is hard to conceive, unleſs

* A. D. 1529.

unleſs we ſuppoſe, that he was either duped by his colleague, or actually betrayed the cauſe of his ſovereign.

Mean while, Henry importuned the legates to execute their commiſſion; and they met, for that purpoſe, on the thirty-firſt day of May, when they appointed adjuncts to aſſiſt them in examining the papers and evidences. Wolſey, as a proof of his impartiality, allowed Campejus to preſide, though he himſelf was ſenior cardinal to that legate, who cited the king and queen to appear in court on the eighteenth day of June.

On the day appointed, the queen's agents objected to the authority of the legates; but their objections were not admitted, and the king and queen perſonally appeared on the twenty-firſt day of the month.

Henry, when called upon, anſwered, Here; but the queen, being named, aroſe, and falling on her knees before Henry, "I am (ſaid ſhe) a poor weak woman, and "a ſtranger in your dominions, where I "can neither expect impartial judges nor "diſintereſted counſel. I have been your "wife for more than twenty years; have "bore you ſeveral children; and have ever "endeavoured to pleaſe you. I proteſt you "found me a true maid, for the truth of "which I appeal to your own conſcience.

"If

"If I have been guilty of any crime, let "me be diſmiſſed with ſhame and infamy; "but if I am innocent, let me not be "treated as if I were the moſt profligate "and abandoned of my ſex. Our parents "were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of Eu-"rope, and doubtleſs acted by the beſt "council, when they concluded the con-"tract of our marriage. I therefore will "not ſubmit to the authority of this court. "My lawyers are your ſubjects, and dare "not ſpeak freely in my behalf; for which "reaſon I deſire to be excuſed until I ſhall "hear from Spain." Having thus ſpoke, ſhe aroſe, and, making a low reverence to the king, departed from the court, and never would appear in it more.

After her departure, Henry did her the juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her conduct had been agreeable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour.

He only inſiſted on his own ſcruples, with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage; and he explained the origin, the progreſs, and the foundation of thoſe doubts, by which his mind had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted Wolſey of having had any hand either in raiſing or encourag-

encouraging his ſcruples; and he begged a ſentence of the court, conformable to the juſtice of his cauſe.

The queen being again ſummoned to appear, appealed to the pope, and was declared contumacious. Then the legates drew up twelve articles, to be proved by the evidence of witneſſes.

Theſe imported, that prince Arthur and the king were brothers: that prince Arthur had married Catharine, and conſummated the marriage: that, upon the death of Arthur, Henry, by virtue of a diſpenſation, had eſpouſed the widow: that this marriage with his brother's wife was contrary to all laws, human and divine; and that, in conſequence of the complaints preferred to the pope, his holineſs had impowered them to judge and determine the affair.

The king's council inſiſted chiefly on the conſummation of Arthur's marriage; and, in the courſe of their pleadings, made uſe of ſome expreſſions of ſuch a ſmutty and indecent nature, as provoked the indignation of the biſhop of Rocheſter, who ſignified his diſpleaſure in the ſtrongeſt terms. He was reprimanded by Wolſey, for preſuming to interrupt the trial; and ſome ſarcaſtic replies were exchanged between theſe prelates.

From

From the evidence, however, it appeared, with as much certainty as a caſe of that nature would admit, that Arthur had carnally known the queen, though ſhe herſelf declared, and even ſwore, the contrary.

Mean while the pope, in compliance with the advice of his legates, evoked the cauſe before his own tribunal, and diſpatched a courier to England with a bull, ſummoning Henry to appear at Rome in forty days, on pain of incurring the higheſt cenſures of the church.

How provoked ſoever the king muſt have been at the arrival of this bull of evocation, he yet thought proper to ſuppreſs his reſentment; and, though he would not ſuffer the bull to be notified to him in form, he acquainted the legates that they were at full liberty to obey the pope's order.

From this period we may ſafely date the commencement of Wolſey's fall; and, indeed, he had acted, during the whole courſe of this proceeding, with ſuch a coldneſs and indifference, as ſeemed to be altogether inconſiſtent with that zealous concern which, on all other occaſions, he ever manifeſted for the intereſt of his maſter.

Perhaps

Perhaps he was afraid of provoking the emperor beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation, in caſe the papal throne ſhould again become vacant: perhaps he ſecretly hated Anne Boleyn, as a dangerous rival in the king's affection, or a friend to the doctrine of Luther; or he was influenced by ſome hidden motive of perſonal diſlike. Great men are often ſubject to low paſſions and prejudices, which they are aſhamed to acknowledge.

Certain it is, the emperor exerted his utmoſt efforts to ruin the cardinal in the king's opinion; he was at great pains to propagate reports contrived on purpoſe to accompliſh his deſtruction; and, by means of his agents, Henry received copies of letters, condemning the divorce, which the cardinal was ſaid to have ſent privately to his holineſs.

On the other hand, Anne Boleyn aſcribed the miſcarriage of the divorce to the negligence with which Wolſey had behaved in the matter; and her reſentment was equal to the greatneſs of her diſappointment. Her father, now promoted to the title of lord viſcount Rochfort, had removed her from court, during the proceſs, in order to prevent ſcandal; but, when the commiſſion was annulled, ſhe returned, at the king's deſire.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, Henry demeaned himſelf with great temper and moderation; and when the two cardinals waited upon him at Graſton, he gave them a very kind and favourable reception. Wolſey had a private conference with him for a conſiderable time, and left the royal preſence with ſeeming ſatisfaction; and all the courtiers, who hated him in their hearts, ſtill continued to pay him their wonted reſpect and veneration.

Henry, in order to diſpel his chagrin, and revive his ſpirits, made a progreſs through ſome counties; and in his return lay at Waltham-croſs, in the houſe of Mr. Creſſey.

This gentleman had entruſted the education of his two ſons to the care of Thomas Cranmer, a doctor in divinity, who had been profeſſor at Oxford, and loſt his place by entering into the ſtate of matrimony.

He was equally diſtinguiſhed for his piety, learning, and moderation; and was a ſecret friend of the doctrine of Luther, whoſe books he had peruſed in Germany. At ſupper he was deſired by Gardiner, now ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner, to give his ſentiments of the divorce; and, beng preſſed on the ſubject, he replied, that the beſt method either to

quiet the conſcience of Henry, or extort the conſent of his holineſs, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe, with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catharine, his ſcruples would ceaſe of courſe; if they condemned it, the pope would not preſume to reſiſt the ſolicitations of ſo great a monarch, ſeconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Chriſtendom.

When the king was informed of this propoſal, he was tranſported with joy; and ſwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, "that Cranmer had got the right "ſow by the ear." He inſtantly ſent for that divine: entered into converſation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and capacity; perſuaded him to write in defence of the divorce; and, in proſecution of the ſcheme propoſed, he forthwith diſpatched his agents to collect the opinions of all the univerſities of Europe.

Henry had no ſooner returned from his progreſs, than he ſent a meſſage to Wolſey, commanding him to reſign the great ſeal, which he at firſt refuſed to deliver; but the king writing him a letter with his own hand, he ſurrendered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who carried it to his majeſty,

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WOLSEY.

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majeſty, by whom it was immediately given to Sir Thomas More, a man equally eſteemed for his learning and integrity. The legate Campejus, foreſeeing the final ruin of his colleague, took his leave of the king, and in a few days ſet ſail for Italy.

On the ninth of October, Hales, the attorney-general, preferred an impeachment againſt Wolſey, accuſing him of having violated the ſtatute of præmunire. He owned the charge, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and threw himſelf on the mercy of his ſovereign. He was declared out of the protection of the laws; his goods and chatels were confiſcated; and his palace of York-houſe, afterwards known by the name of Whitehall, was ſeized for his majeſty's uſe, together with all the rich furniture and treaſure he had accumulated.

Humbled by this ſudden reverſe of fortune, he applied to the king for a protection for his perſon, which was immediately granted, together with a free pardon for all his miſdemeanours. He was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of York, and the ſee of Wincheſter: he recovered of his own effects to the amount of ſix thouſand pounds, in plate, money, and furniture; and he was favoured with ſeveral kind meſſages from the king and Anne Boleyn; for Henry's intention, at this juncture,

ture, was to mortify the pride, but not ruin the fortune, of his old miniſter.

Theſe favourable ſentiments, however, were of ſhort continuance: his enemies ſoon gained the aſcendant at court, and brought into the houſe of lords a charge of high-treaſon againſt him, contained in four and forty articles; importing, that he had abuſed his legatine authority to the prejudice of the king's prerogative, and the privileges of the people; acted unjuſtly in the office of chancellor; expedited ſeveral orders of the utmoſt conſequence, and concluded treaties without the knowledge or conſent of his majeſty; aſſumed a ſtate and magnificence more becoming an Eaſtern monarch than an Engliſh miniſter; been guilty of extortion, bribery, and all manner of corruption; endeavoured to equal, and even prefer himſelf, to his ſovereign, by writing in ſeveral diſpatches *ego & rex meus*,* "I and "my king;" and endangering the health of his majeſty, by breathing upon him and whiſpering in his ear, when he knew himſelf

* Nothing can be more abſurd than to accuſe a man of high-treaſon for this manner of expreſſion, which is fully juſtified by the idiom of the Latin language, which requires, that the firſt perſon, though applied to a peaſant, ſhould always be preferred to the ſecond and third, though denoting people in the moſt exalted ſtation.

ſelf to be deeply infected with the venereal diſtemper.

Theſe articles, ſome of which were falſe, and others ridiculous, eaſily paſſed in the houſe of lords, which abounded with the cardinal's enemies; but when they were ſent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, a member of that houſe, who had been Wolſey's ſervant, undertook his defence, and acquitted himſelf with ſo much ability and ſucceſs, that the bill was rejected, and the proſecution dropped.

It is commonly obſerved, that thoſe who are elated with proſperity, are equally dejected in adverſity. The cardinal diſcovered very little fortitude under his misfortune: he was ſeized with a deep and dangerous melancholy; and at laſt ſickened in conſequence of the numberleſs mortifications he had received.

The news of Wolſey's diſtemper ſeemed to re-kindle the king's affection: he had formerly ſent him a turquoiſe ring, as a mark of his regard, which was delivered to the cardinal as he was going to Wincheſter. He was ſo ſenſibly touched with this inſtance of the king's goodneſs, that he alighted from his horſe, and fell upon his knees in a tranſport of joy. Henry now ſent him another preſent of a ruby, by his phyſician doctor Butts, who told him that

his majesty still retained a most sincere regard for his welfare, and would soon give him a more convincing proof of his tenderness and affection.

These instances of the royal favour contributed in a great measure to the recovery of his health; and he now solicited and procured the king's permission to live, for the benefit of the air, at Richmond-house, which he had formerly received in exchange for Hampton-court.

In the beginning of the year,* Henry's agents returned from the Continent with the opinions of the foreign universities concerning the legality of his marriage: those of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Tholouse, Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua, unanimously agreed that the king's marriage with Catharine, being contrary to all laws human and divine, could never be rendered valid by the dispensation of pope Julius the second.

The English universities concurred in the same sentiments, though not without a violent opposition from the masters of arts, especially at Oxford; and a keen contest at Cambridge. This opposition was owing to those who hated the Lutheran reformers, who, they were afraid, would find too much coun-

* A. D. 1530.

countenance and protection under the influence of Anne Boleyn.

Henry, perceiving that all his remonſtrances at the court of Rome had hitherto proved ineffectual, perſuaded his chief prelates and nobility to write a ſharp and ſpirited letter to the pope; in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done to his holineſs, the judgment of ſo many learned univerſities, and the little regard which Clement had paid to theſe conſiderations; they plainly told him, that, ſhould he continue to amuſe and deceive them in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connexion with the ſee of Rome, and do themſelves that juſtice, which, whatever right they had to expect, they had in vain demanded from his holineſs.

To this letter, which was ſubſcribed by cardinal Wolſey, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, four prelates, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, the pope ſent an anſwer to vindicate his conduct.

His apology was ſo far from being admitted, that Henry, in order to prevent any ſtep which Clement might take in favour of Catharine or the cardinal, publiſhed a proclamation, diſcharging all perſons whatever

ever to procure or receive any thing from Rome, or elſewhere, that might be prejudicial to his majeſty's prerogative; or to promulgate any thing of that nature, on pain of incurring his indignation, and the penalties mentioned in the ſtatute of proviſors and præmunire.

He then appointed ſome learned men to collect, compare, and publiſh all that had been or could be advanced in behalf of the divorce, together with the deciſion of the univerſities, and a particular anſwer to a book, which Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, had compoſed in defence of the marriage.

Mean while, the mind of Wolſey was alternately poſſeſſed by hope and fear. He had, in the beginning of his diſgrace, been reduced to abſolute poverty, from which he was relieved by the humanity of the biſhop of Carliſle: but afterwards his affairs ſeemed to take a more favourable turn; he was indulged with a full pardon; he received conſiderable appointments, and kind meſſages from the king; and he was allowed to ſit in the houſe of peers, though he had the mortification to ſee a bill paſs ratifying his own forfeitures to the king; and among others, his college at Oxford, which he had nearly compleated, but which Henry afterwards founded in his own name.

The

The cardinal expreſſed a more ſenſible concern for the loſs of his college, than for any other misfortune he had hitherto ſuffered. He wrote to the king in the moſt ſuppliant ſtrain, intreating he would allow the foundation to ſtand: he ſent a moving letter on the ſame ſubject to Cromwell, who had by this time gained the good graces of his ſovereign; but all his importunities proved ineffectual.

At length his enemies thinking him too near the king, while he lived at Richmond, prevailed upon Henry to ſend him an order for retiring to his archbiſhopric of York. He obeyed this injunction, though not without extreme reluctance; and proceeded by ſlow journies to Cawood, followed by a train of one hundred and twenty horſemen. As he paſſed through the country, he diſtributed his alms and benediction with great liberality and condeſcenſion; and now, for the firſt time in his life, he began to be popular, the people running in crouds to ſee him, and aſking his bleſſing on their knees.

But he was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in his new retreat. The earl of Northumberland was ordered, without paying any regard to Wolſey's eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high-treaſon, and conduct him to London, in order to ſtand his trial.

The

The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of the journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which soon turned into a dysentery; and it was not without extreme difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester-abbey.

When the abbot and monks advanced to receive him with great respect and veneration, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took his bed, from whence he never again arose.

A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following terms to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "Had I served "my God with the same zeal and fidelity "with which I have served my king, he "would not have forsaken me thus in my "old age: but this is the just reward I must "now receive for having preferred my re-"gard for the interest of my earthly prince "to my duty to my heavenly creator. I "pray you commend me most heartily to the "king, beseeching him to remember all "that hath passed between us touching the "affair of queen Catharine; and then his "majesty will know in his conscience whe-"ther or not I have given him just cause "of offence. He is a prince of royal car-"riage, and noble sentiments; but rather "than be thwarted in his pleasure, he will

"run

"run the riſk of loſing one half of his "kingdom. I have often kneeled before "him three hours ſucceſſively to diſſuade "him from his will and appetite, and "could not prevail: therefore, maſter "Kingſton, if ever you be one of his pri-"vy council, as by your wiſdom you are "well qualified, take particular care what "advice you give him; for if once he ſets "his heart upon any thing, all the argu-"ments and importunities in the world "will not be able to divert him from his "purpoſe."

Such was the end of the famous cardinal Wolſey, a man whoſe character ſeems to have contained as ſtrange a variety as the different ſcenes of life through which he paſſed. The violence and obſtinacy of the king's temper may apologize for many of the arbitrary and deſpotic meaſures of his favourite: and when we conſider that the following part of Henry's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal, than that which was directed by Wolſey's councils, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that, if he diſſerved not the extravagant praiſes which his friends have beſtowed upon him, he neither merited the virulent reproaches with which his enemies have loaded his memory.

By

By this time, the Reformation had made a considerable progress in Germany, although Charles had expelled Luther, and all his adherents, from the empire. In the year that followed this decree, the diet, meeting at Nuremberg, exhibited a list of one hundred grievances against the court of Rome; and demanded redress, by means of a free council. The same demand was repeated in a subsequent diet, and opposed by a decree of the Catholics convened at Ratisbon.

In a third diet, held at Spire, it was resolved, that the emperor should be desired to assemble a general council in Germany; and, in the mean time, that every person should enjoy liberty of conscience.

In about three years after, Charles, encouraged by the prospect of an approaching peace with France, imagined he might talk in a higher strain: accordingly, he convoked a diet in the same place; where it was decreed, that no innovation should be made in religion; and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Lunenburg, protesting, in the most solemn manner, against this decree, their party were, from that time, distinguished by the name of Protestants.

The

The emperor being provoked at their presumption, determined to extirpate them entirely; and, with that view, in the course of the present year, he convened a diet at Augsburg, before which the Protestants desired permission to declare their belief. That favour was denied them, though they were allowed to deliver it in writing; and the landgrave of Hesse departed without taking leave of the emperor, who caused the gates of the city to be shut for confining the rest of that persuasion; but they were opened again, at the request of the elector of Saxony.

After a long and violent altercation, the diet passed a decree against the Protestants, who, nevertheless, were amused with the hopes of a general council. The diet was no sooner dissolved, than the emperor assembled the electors for choosing his brother Ferdinand king of the Romans.

This proceeding was warmly opposed by the Reformers, who demonstrated, in the clearest manner, the many inconveniencies that would necessarily attend the design of rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in the house of Austria. No regard being paid to their remonstrance, they met at Smalcalde, where they entered into a defensive league against all those who should attack them on account of religion; and

made a formal proteſt againſt the election of a king of the Romans.

The Proteſtant religion was ſecretly favoured by many perſons in England, where the writings and ſermons of Wickliff and his diſciples, had long ago begun to diſpel the miſts of ignorance and ſuperſtition from the minds of the people, who, beſides, were oppreſſed by the pope's uſurpations, and ſcandalized at the lewd and immoral lives of the laſt pontiffs who had filled St. Peter's chair.

They eagerly wiſhed for an opportunity to deliver themſelves from ſuch an intolerable and diſgraceful yoke. Henry, knowing their diſpoſition, determined to diſclaim all papal juriſdiction; and, in the affair of the divorce, abide by the determination of his own parliament and clergy.

For this purpoſe, the firſt was convened on the ſixth day of January; and, at the ſame time, the clergy were aſſembled in convocation. The ſeſſion of parliament was opened with a ſpeech by the chancellor, who declared, that the king's deſire of ſeeing the marriage annulled, did not proceed from carnal motives, as ſome malicious people inſinuated, but was owing to his ſcruples of conſcience, and his zeal for the good of his kingdom, that the ſucceſſion to the

the throne might not be diſputed at his death.

Then he produced a great number of books and treatiſes, compoſed by the moſt learned divines and caſuiſts of Europe, on the ſubject of the divorce, with extracts of ſeveral authors both ancient and modern; and the deciſions of the univerſities of France, Italy, and England. Theſe were left on the table for the peruſal of the members; and, in the mean time, the king communicated his deſign to the convocation of the clergy, who unanimouſly agreed that his marriage was contrary to the law of God.

This inſtance of complaiſance, however, did not free them from a proſecution which his majeſty had determined to commence againſt them. Cardinal Wolſey had been accuſed of exerciſing the legatine power in England, without a ſpecial licence from the king; and of diſpoſing, in that capacity, of ſeveral benefices, contrary to the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire; conſequently, thoſe who owned his authority, were guilty of the ſame crime. This was the caſe with the whole body of the clergy, who were accordingly charged with having violated the laws of the realm.

Such a proſecution anſwered Henry's purpoſe in a double view. It not only afforded him a pretence for procuring a large ſum of money; but alſo humbled the pride of the clergy, and leſſened their credit in the eyes of the people, by rendering them more dependent upon the royal pleaſure.

In vain did they alledge, in their own defence, that the king himſelf had connived at the cardinal's proceedings: they were found guilty of the crime with which they were charged; and all their effects were forfeited, to the great joy of the people, who had been long oppreſſed with eccleſiaſtical uſurpations.

The clergy, finding it in vain to reſiſt, were glad to ſubmit, and implore the king's pardon, which they agreed to purchaſe by preſenting him with the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds.

A committee of the convocation of Canterbury being ordered to draw up this act and petition, ſome individuals, who were attached to the court, propoſed, that the clergy ſhould acknowledge the king as protector and ſupreme head of the Anglican church.

This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral of the members; and the conſideration of the affair was poſtponed till their next meeting, when, by the perſuaſion of arch-

archbiſhop Warham, Thomas Cromwell, and others of the council, it was reſolved, that the king ſhould be called ſupreme head of the church, as far as was conſiſtent with the laws of Chriſt.

The convocation of York agreed likewiſe, to preſent his majeſty with eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds; but, as in the addreſs, they did not acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, they were given to underſtand, that their preſent would not be accepted; they were therefore obliged to follow the example of the other convocation.

Henry, being ſatisfied with this acquiſition of power and riches, was pleaſed to grant them an ample pardon; but the commons refuſed to paſs the bill, unleſs the laity, who might be ſubjected to the ſame proſecution, ſhould be included.

The king, hearing of this objection, ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that he was determined to be maſter of his own favours, which he would never diſpenſe upon compulſion; and the houſe, being afraid of incurring his diſpleaſure, paſſed the bill without further oppoſition.

Then he granted his lay-ſubjects a general pardon, which however did not comprehend colleges and monaſteries; for theſe

were afterwards forced to pay for a compoſition.

The parliament was no ſooner prorogued, than Henry cauſed the deciſions and writings, in favour of the divorce, to be printed and publiſhed, that his ſubjects might have time to conſider the caſe before the next ſeſſion.

As he was extremely deſirous to procure Catharine's conſent to a ſeparation, he ſent ſeveral biſhops and lay noblemen to perſuade her to drop her appeal; and, when they adviſed her to ſubmit the cauſe to the determination of four eccleſiaſtics, and as many ſeculars, ſhe ſaid ſhe would pray to God to ſend the king a quiet conſcience; but ſhe was his lawful wife, and would maintain her right, until it ſhould be annulled by the court of Rome.

Henry finding her altogether inflexible, deſired ſhe would take up her reſidence at any of his manours; and ſhe replied, that, to whatever place ſhe ſhould be removed, ſhe could not be removed from the ſtation of his wife. She firſt retired to Moore, then to Eaſthamſtead, and afterwards to Ampthill.

The Engliſh, in general, were highly pleaſed with the humiliation of the prelates. They now began to diſpute openly about the moſt difficult and abſtruſe points of religion;

religion; and were, by their indiſcreet zeal, hurried into ſome dangerous extremities.

Henry, afraid of the conſequences with which ſuch a ſpirit, if too far indulged, might poſſibly be attended, reſolved to convince his people, that, though he had ſhaken off the papal yoke, he did not mean to violate the fundamental truths of Chriſtianity; and therefore ordered the laws againſt heretics to be ſtrictly executed; an order which occaſioned the death of of two eccleſiaſtics and a lawyer, who were condemned to the flames in Smithfield.

The parliament meeting in the month of January,* the commons, who had been privately tutored by the court, preſented an addreſs, intreating his majeſty to agree to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes which had crept into the immunities enjoyed by the clergy.

The king replied, that, before he could give his conſent to ſuch a propoſal, he would hear what the clergy had to alledge in their own defence. By this anſwer he meant to ſhew them how much they ſtood in need of the royal protection, hated as they were by the parliament, which was entirely at his devotion.

Several

* A. D. 1532.

Several acts were paſſed, which ſlightly touched upon ſome of the privileges of that body; though they were ſufficiently comforted for theſe mortifications, by a decree abſolving them from the obligation of paying annates to the pope, which had ever been conſidered as a heavy and intolerable burden.

The ſtatute imported, that the kingdom was impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, ſince the ſecond year of the late reign, above one hundred and ſixty pounds had been ſent to Rome, on account of annates or firſt-fruits, palls and bulls for biſhoprics: that the annates had been originally deſigned as a contribution for ſupporting a war againſt the Infidels; but, as they were not applied to that purpoſe, it was decreed, that they ſhould not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the actual revenue ſhould be given for the bulls of biſhoprics; that, if the pope ſhould refuſe to grant them on theſe terms, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be conſecrated; but, ſhould the metropolitan refuſe conſecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king ſhould perform the ceremony; and then the elect ſhould be held as lawfully conſecrated.

Never-

Nevertheleſs, the parliament declared, that the king ſhould be at liberty to annul or confirm this act within a limited time; and if, in that interval, he ſhould compromiſe his difference with the court of Rome, it ſhould obtain the force and authority of a law; but ſhould the pope, on account of this act, pretend to diſturb the kingdom with ſentences of excommunication and interdict, theſe cenſures ſhould be utterly diſregarded: all eccleſiaſtics were forbid to receive or publiſh them; but were enjoined to celebrate divine ſervice, as if they had never been iſſued.

About this time the king received a letter from the pope, importing, that he had been informed of his putting away his queen, and keeping another perſon, named Anne, as his wife, to the great ſcandal of his character, and in contempt of the holy ſee, before which the cauſe was ſtill depending: he therefore adviſed him to diſcard his preſent miſtreſs, and take back his lawful wife; by which means, he would prevent a war with the emperor, who, otherwiſe, would not fail to revenge ſuch an affront offered to his aunt; and preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom, which was the only ſecurity againſt the progreſs of the Turks.

In anſwer to this addreſs, Henry ſent doctor Bennet as his ambaſſador to Rome, to lay before the pope the deciſions and opi-

nions

nions of universities and learned men, concerning the divorce; and he was furnished with a letter, in which the king reproached his holiness with ignorance, partiality, and deceit; declared that unless he was provoked, he had no intention to make any farther attacks upon his authority; desired he would regulate his conduct by the opinions of so many learned divines; and perform his duty according to the dictates of his conscience.

Clement, instead of complying with the king's request, issued a citation, summoning him to appear in person, or by proxy, at Rome, to answer to the queen's appeal; and Sir Edward Karne was immediately dispatched thither as Henry's excusator. He was ordered to employ the best council he could find, to vindicate the king's conduct in not appearing at Rome, on the principles of the canon law, and the prerogatives of the English crown.

The excusatory plea was argued in the consistory; and after much deliberation, it was neither admitted nor rejected; but the vacation approaching, the pope and the college of cardinals wrote a letter to Henry, desiring he would send a proxy in the winter.

Mean while the parliament re-assembled in the month of April; and in the course of the session, a member, called Temse, proposed,

poſed, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, intreating him to take back his queen, and prevent all the inconveniences which the illegitimation of the princeſs muſt neceſſarily occaſion.

Henry was enraged at the preſumption of this commoner, for which he ſharply reprimanded the ſpeaker of the houſe, and appealed to the teſtimony of his own conſcience for the purity of his intentions.

He afterwards acquainted the lower houſe with his deſign of peopling the Engliſh ſide of the Northern Marches, which were entirely uninhabited; and the members granted a ſupply for that purpoſe; but before the bill could paſs, the plague broke out in London, and the parliament was prorogued till the enſuing February.

In a few days after this prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, apprehenſive of the dangerous conſequences that might attend a total rupture with the court of Rome, reſigned the ſeals of his office, which were immediately delivered to Sir Thomas Audeley.

In the month of October, Henry had an interview with the French king between Calais and Boulogne, where the two monarchs entertained each other with great pomp and magnificence, without tranſacting any buſineſs of importance.

He

He was accompanied, on this occasion, by Anne Boleyn, whom he had lately created marchioness of Pembroke, and to whom, in the month of January following * he was privately married by Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. The ceremony was performed in the presence of Cranmer, who had now succeeded Warham in the archbishopric of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Anne's father, mother, and brothers.

The pope had lately sent a message to the king, acquainting him, that he intended to appoint a legate with two auditors of the rota, to try the cause in some indifferent place, reserving to himself the power of passing sentence; and proposing that a truce should be concluded for four years, before the end of which he would assemble a general council.

In answer to these proposals, Henry sent Sir Thomas Elliot with a letter, importing, that he could take no steps towards a peace, without the consent of the French king; that, considering the state of religion in Germany, he imagined a general council would be improper; that he could not send a proxy to Rome, or any other place out of his own dominions, without betraying the prero-

* A. D. 1533.

ANNE BOLEN.

Engravd for Rider's History of England

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prerogative of his crown, and violating the laws of his kingdom; but that his holineſs might refer the deciſion of the affair to the clergy of England, and ratify the ſentence which they ſhould pronounce.

Clement refuſed this expedient, as inconſiſtent with the prerogatives of the papal crown; and ordered the dean of the Rota to ſummon Henry to anſwer to the queen's appeal: but Karne proteſted againſt this citation, as the king could not expect juſtice at the court of Rome, which was entirely devoted to the intereſt of the emperor. He deſired that his holineſs would deſiſt, otherwiſe Henry would appeal to the judgment of learned caſuiſts and univerſities; he affirmed there was a nullity in all the proceedings; that his maſter was an independent prince, and the church of England a free church, over which the pope had no lawful authority.

The parliament meeting in the month of February, the convocation of Canterbury was aſſembled at the ſame time, and required to give their opinion on the following queſtions: Whether or not the diſpenſation of pope Julius the ſecond, for the marriage of Catharine and Henry, was ſufficient to render the ſaid marriage binding and valid? and, Whether or not the con-

ſummation of Arthur's nuptials with that princeſs, had been fully demonſtrated?

The convocation, after having maturely conſidered the matter, declared, that the pope had no power to grant diſpenſations inconſiſtent with the law of God; and that the conſummation of the firſt marriage, had been as fully proved as the nature of the thing would admit. The ſame anſwers were given to theſe queſtions by the convocation of York; and Henry determined to proceed upon the cauſe of the divorce, before the judicature of his own clergy.

This courſe he was the rather inclined to purſue, as he was no longer able to conceal his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was now become pregnant; and it was therefore neceſſary to make it public, in order to ſave her reputation.

Accordingly the archbiſhop, being previouſly inſtructed, demanded his majeſty's permiſſion to determine the affair of his former marriage with Catharine, whoſe conſent to the divorce the king had endeavoured to procure by fair means; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the queen was now ſummoned to appear at Dunſtable, near the place of her reſidence.

She refuſing to obey the citation, Cranmer pronounced ſentence, declaring her marriage null, as being inconſiſtent with the

the law of God; and, by another, confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on the first day of June.

Henry sent lord Montjoy to acquaint Catharine with these sentences; but she still remained inflexible; and the king ordered, that, for the future, she should be distinguished by no other title than that of princess dowager of Wales.

The pope was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he expressed the highest indignation at the sentence of Cranmer; and his resentment was further inflamed by the perusal of a book which had lately been written by Henry upon the usurpation of the Roman see, and the prerogatives of crowned heads; a copy of which had already been transmitted to Rome.

He forthwith annulled the sentence; and declared, that Henry himself should be excommunicated, unless he should before the end of September, renounce every step he had taken prejudicial to the authority of the holy see. These menaces, however, had no effect upon the conduct of Henry, who supported, as he was, by his people and parliament, resolved to set his holiness at defiance.

Nevertheless, he was persuaded by the French monarch to send ambassadors to Marseilles

to attend an interview between Clement and Francis, who offered to interpose his good offices towards accommodating the difference between Henry and his holiness.

That prince, with much difficulty, prevailed upon the pontiff to give satisfaction to the king of England; but, in order to save the honour of the holy see, he insisted that the cause should be tried in a consistory, from which, however, the cardinals of the emperor's faction should be wholly excluded.

Bonner, who was one of the English envoys, being entirely ignorant of this circumstance, demanded an audience of the pope, and told him that the king of England had appealed to a future council from any papal sentence which either was or might be given against him.

The pope replied, that he would consult the cardinals, and in a few days acquainted him that the appeal could not be received; but Bonner, regardless of this intimation, proceeded to notify the appeal of the archbishop of Canterbury from the reversion of the sentence which he had pronounced; and his holiness was so enraged at Bonner's presumption, that he threatened to cause him to be thrown into a cauldron of molten lead.

Francis

Francis likewiſe expreſſed his indignation at the arrogance of the Engliſhman, and engaged to aſſiſt the pope in chaſtiſing him for ſuch an affront: nevertheleſs, he ſuffered the delinquent to make his eſcape.

Notwithſtanding this remonſtrance of Bonner, which, for the preſent, prevented an accommodation; Francis ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſeeing the matter brought to a happy concluſion. On his return to Paris, he diſpatched John de Bellay biſhop of that ſee, with new propoſals to Henry, who agreed to the diſpute's being decided at Cambray, by ſuch judges as could not be ſuſpected of partiality to either ſide.

The biſhop, having ſucceeded in his embaſſy, ſet out for Rome in the middle of winter, and found Clement very well diſpoſed to embrace this expedient: but he inſiſted that Henry ſhould ſubſcribe a paper, obliging himſelf to ſtand to this award; and in order to finiſh the matter with the greater expedition, he named a day for the return of the courier, who was ſent to England for the inſtrument.

The emperor's miniſters were no ſooner apprized of theſe proceedings, than they importuned the pope to revoke his engagements; and by dint of threats, extorted his promiſe, that if the courier ſhould not re-

turn within the time preſcribed, he ſhould hold himſelf abſolved from his former obligation, and pronounce ſentence againſt Henry.

The meſſenger not arriving within the limited time, the biſhop of Paris applied for a reſpite of ſix days only; but the pope, partly inflamed by his own indignation againſt the Engliſh monarch, and partly overawed by the menaces of the Imperialiſts, refuſed to grant his requeſt. On the contrary, he precipitated the matter with ſo much violence, that, what according to the uſual forms ought to have been diſcuſſed in three conſiſtories, was completely finiſhed in one. He publiſhed a ſentence, declaring the marriage of Henry with Catharine juſt and valid, and requiring that prince to take back his wife, on pain of ſubjecting himſelf to the higheſt cenſures of the church.

In two days after this deciſion the courier returned from England, with full powers to the biſhop of Paris to comply with the pope's demands; and ſeveral cardinals propoſed, that the ſentence ſhould be reverſed; but the emperor's partiſans perſuaded his holineſs to adhere inviolably to what he had done. Thus was the church of England, after having been, for ſo many centuries, ſubject to the court of Rome, at laſt

laſt entirely delivered from its dependence upon that ſee.

Whatever inclination Henry might diſcover to accommodate his difference with the Roman pontiff, we can hardly believe him to have been ſincere in his profeſſions; for, even before he could know the reſult of the late negociation, the parliament, meeting in the month of January,* began the ſeſſion with an act annulling the ſtatute of Henry the fourth againſt heretics.

Not that the parliament meant to exempt them from the penalty of the laws; for, by the new act, they were condemned to the flames; but in order to abridge the power of the clergy, and hinder them from being ſole judges in ſuch caſes, it was decreed, that heretics ſhould be tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law.

By another ſtatute it was enacted, that no ſynod or convocation of the clergy ſhould be aſſembled without the king's permiſſion: that his majeſty ſhould nominate ſixteen perſons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to aboliſh ſuch as were uſeleſs, and confirm thoſe that were neceſſary.

The

* A. D. 1534.

The ſame parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, a native of the pariſh of Aldington, who was employed by certain eccleſiaſtics as a fit inſtrument to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom.

She had been long afflicted with hyſterical fits, during which ſhe uttered many ſtrange and incoherent expreſſions; from whence the ignorant and credulous people were induced to believe that ſhe ſpoke by the inſpiration of heaven.

Richard Maſter, the pariſh prieſt, imagining he might make this impoſture turn to his advantage, perſuaded the poor fanatic that ſhe was actually inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt; taught her to counterfeit trances, and utter ſpeeches which were regarded as the oracles of heaven: and in this wicked and impious deſign he choſe for his aſſociate one doctor Bocking, a cannon of Chriſt's Church in Canterbury.

Elizabeth, thus tutored, became extremely expert in performing her part of the farce: ſhe propheſied with all the ſymptoms of heavenly inſpiration; diſtorted her body into the moſt unnatural poſtures; exclaimed vehemently againſt the friends of the new doctrine as abominable heretics; inveighed bitterly againſt the king's divorce, and his

ſecond

ſecond marriage; and in order to raiſe the reputation of a chapel within the pariſh, affirmed, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to her, and told her ſhe ſhould never recover, until ſhe ſhould go in pilgrimage to her image in that place of worſhip.

She accordingly repaired to the chapel; where, in the midſt of a vaſt number of people, ſhe affected to fall into a trance, poured forth pious ejaculations, affirmed that God had called her to be a nun, and appointed doctor Bocking as her ſpiritual father; ſhe pretended to be cured of all her diſtempers by the mediation of the Virgin; took the veil, ſaw viſions, heard melody, received from Mary Magdalen a letter from heaven, was tranſported by an angel to Calais, while the king was in that city, received the ſacrament in his preſence, tho' inviſible; and was conducted back again to her own monaſtery in the ſame manner; ſhe likewiſe propheſied, that, if Henry ſhould proceed in the divorce, and eſpouſe another wife, he ſhould not enjoy his crown a month longer, but ſhould be brought to a violent and untimely end.

Her pretended revelations were carefully collected and publiſhed in a book, by a monk, named Deering. She was countenanced and encouraged by Fiſher, biſhop of

of Rocheſter, and ſeveral others, who were attached to the intereſt of Catharine.

They had frequent conferences with this propheteſs, and engaged in their party many credulous, though well-meaning perſons, particularly the fathers and nuns of Sion, the Charter-houſe, and Sheen, and ſome of the obſervants of Richmond, Greenwich, and Canterbury.

One Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, had the aſſurance to tell him that many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, as they had licked the blood of Ahab. Henry took no notice of this inſult; but allowed the preacher to depart in peace.

In order, however, to prevent a repetition of the like affront, he employed doctor Corren to preach before him the next Sunday; when that eccleſiaſtic vindicated the king's proceedings, and loaded Peto with the epithets of rebel, ſlanderer, dog, and traitor.

He was interrupted by an obſervant friar, of the name of Elſton, who called him one of the lying prophets, that ſought to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the throne upon adultery; and that he himſelf would juſtify every thing that Peto had advanced.

Henry

Henry ſilenced this petulant friar; but diſcovered no other mark of reſentment, than ordering Peto and him to be ſummoned before the council, and reprimanded for their inſolence. He even bore, with great patience, ſome freſh inſtances of their arrogance and preſumption: for, when the earl of Eſſex, a privy-counſellor, told them that they deſerved, for their offence, to be thrown into the Thames; Elſton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.

The eccleſiaſtics concerned in this conſpiracy, encouraged by the lenity of the government, had determined to publiſh the revelations of Elizabeth, in their ſermons, throughout the kingdom: they had imparted them to the pope's ambaſſadors, to whom they had alſo introduced the propheteſs; and they perſuaded Catharine to perſiſt in her obſtinacy.

At length the king, apprehenſive of the conſequences of this conſpiracy, ordered the Maid and her aſſociates to be examined in the Star-chamber; where they confeſſed all the circumſtances of the impoſture, and appeared upon a ſcaffold in St. Paul's church, where each of them read their own confeſſion, in the hearing of the people.

From

From thence they were removed to the Tower, where they continued till the meeting of the parliament, which, having considered the matter, declared it to be a conspiracy against the king's life and crown; and the nun, with her accomplices, were found guilty of high treason.

The bishop of Rochester, Thomas Abel, and several others, were convicted of misprision of treason; their goods and chattels were forfeited to the king; their persons were imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure; and all who were possessed of the nun's revelations, were commanded to send them to the secretary of state, on pain of fine and imprisonment.

In the course of the enquiry it appeared, that the letter pretended to have been sent by Mary Magdalen, was written by one Hankherst of Canterbury; and that the door of the nun's dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent conversation with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

The parliament then proceeded to enact several laws for regulating affairs of an ecclesiastical nature. They decreed, that, for the future, the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but

but that, when a ſee became vacant, the king ſhould ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, or licence, to elect a new biſhop; and if the election ſhould not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of chuſing ſhould fall to the king: that the biſhop elect ſhould ſwear fealty to the king, who ſhould preſent him to the archbiſhop for conſecration; and ſhould the elect, or the archbiſhop, refuſe to obey this order, they ſhould be liable to the penalties of the act of præmunire: that no perſon ſhould preſume to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpoſe: that peter-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and diſpenſations, iſſued by the court of Rome, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed: that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be empowered to grant ſuch diſpenſations as were conſiſtent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence ariſing ſhould be paid into the king's exchequer: that all religious houſes, whether exempted or non-exempted, ſhould be ſubject to the viſitation of the archbiſhop: that the king's marriage with Catharine, ſhould be deemed null and void; and that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled upon the iſſue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female. The members having ſworn to maintain

the ſucceſſion in this manner, the two houſes were prorogued to the third day of November.

On the twenty-firſt day of April, the Maid of Kent, with Bocking, Maſters, Deering, Riſby, and Gold, were executed at Tyburn, where the nun confeſſed her impoſture, laying the blame upon her accomplices, who had taken advantage of her ignorance; ſhe aſked pardon of God and the king, and entreated the people to pray for her and her fellow-ſufferers.

The parliament had no ſooner broke up, than Henry ſent commiſſioners through the whole kingdom to adminiſter an oath to all his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects, importing, that they would be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs, and ſucceſſors; that they owned the king to be ſupreme head of the church of England, and the pope to be no more than any other biſhop; that they renounced all dependence upon that prelate; that they would preach the pure doctrines of Chriſtianity; and that they would publickly pray for the king as the head of the Engliſh church; for the queen, and her iſſue by his majeſty; and laſtly for the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The oath was readily taken by moſt of the abbots, priors, and monks, and by all the

the biſhops, except Fiſher; who, with Sir Thomas More, refuſed to ſwear it in its preſent form.

Sir Thomas declared he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, if he might be permitted to draw up the oath in his own terms. Cranmer and Cromwell exerted their utmoſt efforts in order to perſuade him to follow the example of his fellow-ſubjects; and Cranmer finding his endeavours ineffectual, propoſed that More's expedient ſhould be accepted; but the king being highly enraged againſt him and Fiſher, they were both impriſoned in the Tower; and the biſhop, in his old age, was deprived of every thing but a few rags, which were hardly ſufficient to cover his nakedneſs.

The parliament meeting, according to prorogation, on the twenty-third day of November, enacted ſeveral important laws, to prevent all future connexion between the kingdom of England and the Roman pontiff. They confirmed the title of ſupreme head of the church, which the clergy had already conferred upon the king.

They declared all thoſe who ſhould ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing, prejudicial to the king or queen, guilty of high-treaſon. They debarred all ſuch of the benefit of ſanctuaries. They compoſed a certain form

of oath to be taken by the whole nation, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and annulled all former oaths on the ſame ſubject.

They aſſigned to the king the annates or firſt-fruits, together with the tythes of all benefices. They eſtabliſhed five and twenty ſuffragans to be choſen by the king, and to depend upon the biſhops of the dioceſes to which they ſhould belong.

After the parliament broke up, the king granted a free pardon to all his ſubjects, except Fiſher and More, who had been previouſly convicted of miſpriſion of treaſon. At the ſame time he iſſued a proclamation to diſcontinue the name of pope, and eraze it from all books and writings. All the prelates renounced obedience to the biſhop of Rome, and among the reſt, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, though in his heart he condemned the king's proceedings.

By this time the Reformation had taken deep root in England as well as in Germany, notwithſtanding the violent and cruel perſecution to which its profeſſors were ſubjected. The writings of Luther were well known to the ſubjects of Henry; and the Bible was tranſlated into the Engliſh language

language by Tindal, who had retired into the Low-Countries.

The biſhop of London gave orders for purchaſing as many copies, as poſſible, of this tranſlation; and immediately cauſed them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.* Several perſons were condemned to the flames, and underwent their fate with ſurpriſing conſtancy and reſolution.

Theſe ſeverities, however, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the ſpirit of religious oppoſition, which was ſtill further enflamed by the quarrel with the Roman pontiff.

The Reformation was ſecretly encouraged by Anne Boleyn, archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſecretary Cromwell; but, at the ſame time, it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner and Longland, biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, and by many o-

* This expedient was far from anſwering his purpoſe: for the money ariſing from the ſale of theſe copies enabled Tindal, who was otherwiſe in very mean circumſtances, to print and publiſh a more correct and elegant edition of the ſcriptures; and when ſome of the Engliſh miniſters enquired of one Conſtantine, who was Tindal's agent in this kingdom, who were the perſons that ſupported his maſter, he replied, that the greateſt encouragement he received was from the biſhop of London, who had purchaſed more than one half of the laſt impreſſion.

ther eccleſiaſtics, who frequented the court; and in preaching before Henry, inveighed with great virulence againſt the new doctrine.

The king himſelf, though he had renounced his ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, was, in ſeveral reſpects, a bigotted Catholic; and, to his dying day, was fully perſuaded of the real preſence in the ſacrament. Beſides, he had written a book againſt the tenets of Luther, who had anſwered him with great freedom, not to ſay ſcurrility; and though that reformer had afterwards implored his pardon in the moſt humble and ſuppliant manner, he could never be induced to forgive the inſolence of his firſt attack.

Notwithſtanding theſe prejudices, he was ſo firmly reſolved to break off all connexion with the biſhop of Rome, that he determined to wreak his vengeance upon all thoſe, who ſhould preſume to oppoſe him in the proſecution of ſuch a ſalutary work.

Accordingly he was no ſooner informed, that Paul III. who upon the death of Clement, had lately aſcended the papal throne, had ſent a cardinal's hat to the biſhop of Rocheſter, as a mark of his eſteem and affection for the inviolable attachment he had hitherto preſerved to the holy ſee, than he cauſed the oath of ſupremacy to be

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once more tended to that prelate; and upon his refuſing to take it, he was condemned and executed as a traitor.* He was a man of ſome learning, of the moſt rigid and ſevere morals, and blindly devoted to the papal authority.

Rich, the ſolicitor-general, found means to inveigle Sir Thomas More into a converſation about the ſupremacy, concerning which he had hitherto obſerved a profound ſilence. He only happened to ſay that any queſtion about this point was like a two-edged ſword: if a perſon anſwer one way, it will ruin his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body.

This expreſſion, joined to his former conviction of miſpriſion of treaſon, was reckoned a ſufficient cauſe for depriving him of his life. He was accordingly condemned and beheaded; though the king reaped nothing but reproach and infamy, from the death of a man who was univerſally eſteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleaſantry, which did not forſake him even in his laſt moments.

When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one of the by-ſtanders, "Friend, "help me up; and when I come down "again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner

* A. D. 1535.

ecutioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted his requeſt, but added, "You will ne-"ver get credit by beheading me, my neck "is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner ſtay till he put his beard aſide; "for," ſaid he, "as it never committed treaſon, it does not "deſerve to ſuffer."

The pope was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he paſſed cenſures againſt the king, ſummoning him and all his adherents to appear at Rome in ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes: if they ſhould fail, he layed them under the ſentence of excommunication; deprived the king of his realm; ſubjected the kingdom to an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegetimate; annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with him; beſtowed his kingdom on the firſt invader; commanded the nobility to riſe in arms againſt him; abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; forbade all Chriſtians to communicate with the Engliſh; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, to make ſlaves of their perſons, and to convert their effects to their own uſe.

But though theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced; the pope thinking it prudent

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to delay the publication of the bull, until it could be ſupported by the Imperial arms.

Henry, however, being perfectly ſecure of the loyalty and affection of his ſubjects, reſolved to bid defiance to the thunders of the Vatican, and proceed in the work of reformation, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun.

With this view he appointed a general viſitation of the monaſteries, that their tythes and revenues, together with the morals of the friars and nuns, and the regulations practiſed in each order, might be ſtrictly canvaſſed and examined. By this ſcrutiny, he hoped he ſhould be able to diſabuſe the public in their opinion of the ſanctity of ſuch characters; to wreak his vengeance upon the monks, whom he regarded as his mortal enemies; and to increaſe his revenues with the plunder of their houſes.

Thomas Cromwell, being appointed viſitor-general, nominated ſubſtitutes to examine the monaſteries, where they diſcovered ſuch irregularities, and ſcenes of vice, debauchery, and impoſture, as were not only diſgraceful to religion, but even ſhocking to human nature.

The viſitors, who moſtly hated the monaſtic orders, took care to execute their commiſſion

miſſion with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. They firſt menaced the delinquent friars and nuns with the higheſt penalties of the law, and then hinted, that in order to enſure their perſonal ſafety, and conceal the crimes of which they had been guilty, they ſhould reſign their houſes to the king, who would not fail to provide every individual with a ſufficient maintenance.

This propoſal was embraced by a great number of priors, with the conſent of their monks; and the reports of the commiſſioners were publiſhed, that the world might be convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of ſuch a general viſitation.

Then it appeared what enormous crimes were practiced in theſe houſes, which were originally intended for the ſervice of the Almighty. Many convents were ſplit into different factions, which perſecuted each other with the moſt unrelenting cruelty, according as any of them happened to prevail

They carried on an idolatrous traffic with relics and images, by which they blinded the eyes, and drained the purſes, of the ignorant people. In ſome houſes were diſcovered the implements of clipping and coining. The majority of nuns, in many monaſteries, were big with child; a great number of abbots and monks were convict-

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ed of criminal correſpondence with harlots and married women; and not a few were detected in the gratification of unnatural luſts, and other brutal practices.

After the diſcovery of theſe enormities, the king, as head of the Engliſh church, diſcharged from their vows all the monks who had taken the habit before the age of four and twenty; and permitted all the reſt to leave their monaſteries, and live as ſeculars, according to their own pleaſure. But this permiſſion producing very little effect, Henry had recourſe to his parliament, which was ever ready to ſecond him in all his projects.

That aſſembly paſſed an act ſuppreſſing all monaſteries, whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds; and aſſigned their income to his majeſty. By this law, the crown acquired an annual revenue of two and thirty thouſand pounds, beſides a capital of above one hundred thouſand pounds, in plate, ornaments, and effects of churches and convents. In order to collect this money with the greater regularity, Henry erected a new court of juſtice, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue.*

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* A. D. 1536.

The clergy, assembled in convocation, proposed that a new translation of the Bible into the English language should be made, and a copy deposited in every church for the use of those who did not understand Latin; and though this motion was warmly opposed by Gardiner and his party, Cranmer, Cromwell, and the rest of the reformers at last found means to carry their point.

The king was entreated to employ some learned divines to translate the scriptures: the queen supported the proposal, to which Henry readily assented; and though no historian has acquainted us with the names of the translators, the work was in three years printed at Paris.

Henry having obtained every thing he desire from the parliament, dissolved that assembly, after it had continued for six years, a longer time than any other parliament had subsisted from the commencement of the English monarchy.

In the course of this year the unhappy queen Catharine died at Kimbolton, after having suffered a long series of misfortunes. A little before she expired she wrote a letter to the king, to whom she gave the appellation of her most dear lord, king, and husband. She told him, that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she had ventured to embrace this last opportu-

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nity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative vanity of all human grandeur and enjoyments: that though his love of these perishable pleasures had been productive of many calamities to her, and of much trouble to himself, she yet forgave all past injuries, and hoped that this pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make, but to recommend to his care their common daughter, the sole pledge of their mutual love, and to solicit his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words: "I "make this vow that mine eyes desire "you above all things." The king was sensibly touched, and even shed some tears, on reading this last proof of Catharine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of her rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

This lady, however, did not live long to enjoy her triumph. In a short time, she herself was brought to a more wretched and deplorable end, than the woman whom she had, undesignedly, supplanted in the king's affections.

Henry had persevered invariably in his love to Anne Boleyn, during the six years that the prosecution of the divorce lasted;

and the more difficulties he met with in obtaining the gratification of his paſſion, with the more determined zeal and reſolution did he purſue his purpoſe.

But the affection, which had rather been encreaſed than diminiſhed by oppoſition, had no ſooner attained ſecure poſſeſſion of its object, than it languiſhed from ſatiety; and the king's heart was apparently alienated from his amiable conſort.

Anne's enemies obſerved, with pleaſure, this unhappy change; and finding, that, inſtead of incurring the king's diſpleaſure, they gratified his humour, by interpoſing in thoſe delicate concerns, they were careful to widen the breach between her and her huſband.

She had been delivered about three years before, of a daughter named Elizabeth, who afterwards aſcended the Engliſh throne; and ſhe now brought forth a dead ſon, to the inexpreſſible ſorrow of Henry, who being extremely deſirous of male iſſue, was greatly diſappointed; and, prompted by his impetuous temper, which was equally violent and ſuperſtitious, reſolved to make the innocent mother anſwerable for this misfortune.

But the chief inſtrument which Anne's enemies employed in accompliſhing her ruin, was the jealouſy of her huſband.

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The queen, though undoubtedly innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of mind, which threw her off her guard, and made her less cautious and circumspect than her situation demanded.

Her education in France rendered her more prone to these freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to the strict ceremonial which was observed in the English court. More vain, than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all who approached her; and she indulged herself in easy familiarity with persons, who had once been her equals, and who might then, without presumption, have pretended to her favour and friendship.

Henry, naturally proud and imperious, was highly chagrined at this gay, though innocent, behaviour; and now that he was a husband, he could perceive many faults and imperfections, which formerly, as a lover, he had entirely overlooked.

Wicked persons interposed, and put a bad construction on the harmless liberties of the queen: the viscountess of Rochfort, in particular, who was wife to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her husband, infused the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and, as she

was a woman of the moſt abandoned character, ſhe payed no regard either to truth or humanity, in the calumnies which ſhe invented.

She pretended that her own huſband carried on a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and, not ſatisfied with this imputation, ſhe put the moſt cruel conſtruction upon every action of the queen, and repreſented every favour which ſhe beſtowed upon any one, as a token of affection.

Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, together with Mark Smeton, a muſician, were obſerved to enjoy a conſiderable ſhare of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment, which, though chiefly inſpired by gratitude and a ſenſe of duty, might not impoſſibly be ſeaſoned with a mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The king's jealouſy was arouſed by the ſlighteſt incidents; and finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it diſcharged itſelf equally on all who came within the reach of its fury.

Had Henry's jealouſy proceeded only from love, though it might on a ſudden have carried him to the moſt violent extremities, it would have naturally been ſubject to many remorſes; and might, in the end,

end, have contributed to ſtrengthen that affection, to which, at firſt, it owed its origin. But it was a jealouſy of a more ſtern and unrelenting nature, inſpired by averſion, and nouriſhed by pride: his love was wholly transferred to another object.

Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of great merit and beauty, had entirely captivated the heart of the king; and he was reſolved to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new paſſion.

Inſtead of following the example of other monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, he never thought of any other attachment than that of matrimony; and in order to attain this end, he involved himſelf in greater difficulties, and committed crimes of a more atrocious nature, than thoſe he thought to avoid, by forming that legal connexion.

Thus Henry having conceived the deſign of advancing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, was more apt to credit every ſuggeſtion that ſeemed to reflect on the character and conduct of the unhappy Anne Boleyn. His jealouſy, which had long been rankling in his breaſt, was firſt diſcovered in a tournament at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her

handkerchief; an accident, which, though in all probability entirely caſual, was conſidered by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours.

Accordingly, he inſtantly withdrew from the place; commanded the queen to be confined to her chamber; apprehended Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother the lord Rochfort, and committed them all to priſon.

Anne, confounded at theſe inſtances of his fury, imagined at firſt that he only intended to try her patience; but finding him in earneſt, ſhe began to reflect on his cruel diſpoſition, and prepared herſelf for that melancholy fate, to which, ſhe perceived, ſhe was now devoted.

Next day, ſhe was conveyed to the Tower; and on her way thither, ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been entirely ignorant: ſhe made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon, ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed to God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of the crimes with which ſhe was charged.

This ſudden reverſe of fortune affected her in ſuch a manner, that ſhe was ſeized with hyſterical diſorders, and in that ſituation, ſhe imagined the beſt proof of her innocence would be to make an entire diſcovery:

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accordingly ſhe confeſſed ſome inſtances of levity and indiſcretion, which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to acknowledge.

She owned, that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and told him that he probably meant to wait till ſhe ſhould be a widow: ſhe had reprimanded Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his own wife: but he told her, that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf; upon which ſhe defied him.

She declared, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice when he played on the harpſichord; but ſhe owned, that he had once the aſſurance to tell her, that a look ſufficed him. The candour and ingenuity of this confeſſion, inſtead of curing the jealouſy of the king, ſerved only to inflame it to a higher degree than ever.

Of all the courtiers, whom the queen's bounty had obliged, during her proſperity, no one had the courage and gratitude to interpoſe in her favour; and the perſon, whoſe advancement every breath had favoured, and every tongue applauded, was now, in her adverſity, entirely neglected and abandoned,

Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, ſacrificing the ties of blood to the connexions of party, was become her moſt inveterate enemy; and all the friends to the catholic religion hoped, that her death would put an end to the king's quarrel with the Roman pontiff, and open a door for reſtoring the Engliſh church to its ancient dependence upon the holy ſee.

Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, ſtill preſerved his friendſhip inviolate; and as far as the king's impetuoſity would allow him, he endeavoured to remove the violent and unjuſt prejudices which he had conceived againſt his unhappy conſort.

The queen herſelf wrote a letter to Henry, in order, if poſſible, to ſoften his cruel and unrelenting heart. It contains ſo much nature, and even elegance, as juſtly to deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity, without any alteration of the language. It is as follows:

"Sir,

"YOUR grace's diſpleaſure, and my "impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange "unto me, as what to write, or what to "excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Where- "as you ſend unto me (willing me to con-

"feſs

" feſs a truth, and ſo obtain your favour)
" by ſuch an one, whom you know to
" be mine ancient profeſſed enemy. I no
" ſooner received this meſſage by him,
" than I rightly conceived your meaning;
" and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth
" indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall
" with all willingneſs and duty perform
" your command.

" But let not your grace ever imagine,
" that your poor wife will ever be brought
" to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo
" much as a thought thereof preceded.
" And to ſpeak a truth, never prince had
" wife more loyal in all duty, and in all
" true affection, than you have ever found
" in Anne Boleyn: with which name and
" place I could willingly have contented
" myſelf, if God and your grace's plea-
" ſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did
" I, at any time, ſo far forget myſelf in
" my exalted ſtation, or received queen-
" ſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch
" an alteration as I now find; for the
" ground of my preferment being on no
" ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy,
" the leaſt alteration, I knew, was fit and
" ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other
" object.

" You

" You have choſen me, from a low " eſtate, to be your queen and compa- " nion; far beyond my deſert or deſire. " If then you have found me worthy of " ſuch honour, good your grace let not " any light fancy, or bad counſel of mine " enemies, withdraw your princely favour " from me; neither let that ſtain, that " unworthy ſtain, of a diſloyal heart to- " wards your good grace, ever caſt ſo foul " a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, and the " infant-princeſs your daughter.

" Try me, good king; but let me have " a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn " enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; " yea let me receive an open trial, for " my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame; " then ſhall you ſee mine innocence " cleared, your conſcience ſatisfied, the " ignominy and ſlander of the world " ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. " So that whatſoever God or you may de- " termine of me, your grace may be freed " from an open cenſure, and mine offence " being ſo lawfully proved, your grace is " at liberty, both before God and man, " not only to execute worthy puniſhment " on me as an unfaithful wife, but to " follow your affection, already ſettled on " that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as

" I am,

" I am, and whoſe name I could ſome good
" while ſince have pointed unto your
" grace, not being ignorant of my ſuſpicion
" therein.

" But if you have already determined of
" me, and that not only my death, but an
" infamous ſlander muſt bring you the en-
" joyment of your deſired happineſs, then
" I deſire of God that he will pardon your
" great ſin therein, and likewiſe mine
" enemies, the inſtruments thereof; and
" that he will not call you to a ſtrict ac-
" count for your unprincely and cruel
" uſage of me at his general judgment-
" ſeat, where both you and myſelf muſt
" ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgment
" I doubt not (whatſoever the world may
" think of me) mine innocence ſhall be
" openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

" My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be,
" that myſelf may only bear the burden
" of your grace's diſpleaſure, and that it
" may not touch the innocent ſouls of
" thoſe poor gentlemen, who (as I under-
" ſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſon-
" ment for my ſake. If ever I have found
" favour in your ſight, if ever the name of
" Anne Boleyn hath been pleaſing in your
" ears, then let me obtain this requeſt,
" and I will ſo leave to trouble your grace

" any

" any further, with earneſt prayers to the " Trinity to have your grace in his good " keeping, and to direct you in all your " actions. From my doleful priſon in the " Tower, this ſixth day of May.

" Your moſt loyal, and
" Ever faithful wife,
" ANNE BOLEYN."

This letter had no influence on the cruel and unrelenting mind of Henry, who was reſolved to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton were tried; but no legal proof was adduced againſt them.

Smeton was induced, by the vain hope of life, to acknowledge a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but even her enemies ſeemed to be convinced of the falſity of this confeſſion; for they never ventured to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed, as were alſo Brereton and Weſton.

Norris, who had always enjoyed a large ſhare of the king's favour, was flattered with the promiſe of a pardon, if he would turn evidence againſt the queen; but he refuſed the offer with a generous diſdain; adding,

adding, that in his conſcience he believed her to be entirely guiltleſs, and that he would chearfully ſuffer a thouſand deaths rather than accuſe an innocent perſon.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, compoſed of their uncle the duke of Norfolk, who preſided as lord high-ſteward, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three other noblemen. Upon what proof or pretext they were charged with the crime of inceſt is altogether unknown: the chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been obſerved to lean on her bed before company. It was likewiſe alledged, that ſhe had declared to her paramours, that the king never had her heart; and had ſaid to each of them in private, that ſhe loved him better than any perſon whatever; "which was to the ſlander of the iſſue be-"got between the king and her:" by this forced and ridiculous interpretation, ſhe was condemned upon the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth year of this reign, in which it was declared criminal to aſperſe the character of the king, the queen, or their iſſue.

Such glaring abſurdities were, at this time, admitted; and were conſidered by the peers of England, as a ſufficient reaſon for taking away the life of an innocent

queen. Though unaſſiſted by council, ſhe pleaded her cauſe with great eloquence and ſtrength of judgment; and the ſpectators could not help acknowledging that they belived her to be entirely innocent. Sentence, however, was given by the court both againſt the queen, and lord Rocheford; and her verdict imported, that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the king's pleaſure.

When this dreadful doom was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified; but lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O! Father, O! "Creator, thou who art the way, the "truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I "have not deſerved this death:" and then turning to the judges, made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of her innocence.

Henry, not contented with this cruel vengeance, was determined entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her daughter illegitimate. He remembered a report of a previous contract of marriage between her and lord Piercy, now earl of Northumberland. The earl being queſtioned on this ſubject, declared, that no ſuch contract had ever been concluded. He ſwore to this declaration on the ſacrament, which he wiſhed might be his damnation if he did not ſpeak the truth.

The

The queen, however, was induced either by a promiſe of life, or by threats of executing the ſentence in all its rigour, to acknowledge ſuch a pre-contract, at Lambeth, before the afflicted archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction; and her marriage with the king was declared null and invalid.

Henry, like a cruel and lawleſs tyrant, as he was, did not perceive in the tranſports of his fury, that his proceedings were altogether inconſiſtent; for if her marriage was null from the beginning, ſhe could not poſſibly be guilty of adultery.

The queen now prepared for ſuffering that death to which ſhe was condemned. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, and heartily thanked him for all the favours he had beſtowed upon her; particularly for the continued endeavours he had exerted in order to promote her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven: ſhe then repeated the former proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his protection.

Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and preſerved her uſual ſe-

renity, and even chearfulneſs, to the laſt moment of her life. "The executioner," ſaid ſhe to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very "expert; and my neck is very ſlender;" upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and laughed heartily.

When brought to the ſcaffold, however, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little, with reſpect to her proteſtations of innocence She remembered, that the obſtinacy of queen Catharine, and her refuſal to comply with the king's will, had been extremely prejudical to the lady Mary; and as ſhe was afraid of expoſing her daughter Elizabeth to the ſame hardſhips which that young princeſs had ſuffered, her maternal affection prevailed, in her laſt moments, over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence, by which ſhe was condemned, muſt naturally have excited in her breaſt.

She ſaid, that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe had been adjudged by the laws; that ſhe would accuſe no perſon, nor ſay any thing of the grounds upon which ſhe was condemned.

She prayed heartily for the king; and called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince: ſhe acknowledged that he had always been a good and gracious ſovereign to her; and begged that thoſe who ſhould take the trouble to examine her cauſe, would judge

judge with charity and candour. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over for his dexterity in performing that operation. Her body was thrown into a common cheſt, and buried in the Tower-chapel, without any ceremony.

The innocence of this unhappy queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his paſſion, did not know whom to accuſe as her lover; and, though he ſuſpected her brother and three other perſons, he was not able to bring legal evidence againſt any one of them.

When we conſider the whole tenour of her conduct, which in every other reſpect was ſingularly virtuous, we cannot poſſibly aſcribe to her ſuch a vicious character as is implied in the king's accuſation; and had ſhe been ſo very profligate and abandoned, as he would have inſinuated, ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf to detection, and afforded her enemies the cleareſt evidence againſt her.

But the king himſelf made the moſt effectual apology for her, by eſpouſing Jane Seymour on the very day that ſucceeded her execution. Eager, as he was, to gratify his brutal appetites, he totally forgot all regard to decency and decorum; and his

cruel and barbarous heart, more worthy of an infernal fiend than a human creature, was not, in the leaſt, affected by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon, who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affection.

The princeſs Mary, who had been treated by her father with great ſeverity, on account of her attachment to her mother, and her refuſal to aſſent to the ſtatutes which had been lately enacted, was perſuaded by her friends to attempt a reconciliation with the king at this juncture, when her ſiſter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate.

She accordingly ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, imploring his forgiveneſs for her former diſobedience, and promiſing to comply with all his injunctions for the future. Henry refuſed to receive her into his favour, unleſs ſhe would ſign the act of ſupremacy, the renunciation of the biſhop of Rome, and the nullity of her mother's marriage.

Mary employed her utmoſt art and addreſs, in order to elude the king's demand; but finding him altogether inflexible, ſhe was at laſt obliged to ſubmit, and accordingly ſubſcribed the articles, which however were contrary to her conſcience and perſuaſion.

Eliza-

Elizabeth, who was now in the fourth year of her age, was diveſted of the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had hitherto enjoyed; but Henry took care to give her an excellent education, and treated her on all occaſions with the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection.

A new parliament meeting in the month of June, enacted a ſtatute by which they repealed the former act of ſucceſſion; declared the children of the king's two firſt marriages illegitimate, and excluded from the inheritance of the crown; confirmed the ſentence of Anne Boleyn; adjudged the crown, after the king's death, to his iſſue by queen Jane, or any other wife he might afterwards marry; impowered his majeſty to ſettle the manner in which they ſhould ſucceed, either by will or letters patent under the great ſeal; and pronounced all thoſe who ſhould maintain the validity of his firſt two marriages, guilty of high treaſon.

Pope Paul III. was no ſooner apprized of Anne's fate, than he began to entertain hopes of ſeeing all that had been done againſt the papal power in England, revoked; and, in theſe ſentiments, made ſome propoſals to Caſſali, the Engliſh agent at Rome.

But

But the ſtate of affairs was greatly altered, ſince Henry had expreſſed the leaſt inclination to accommodate his difference with the Roman ſee. He had now obtained an abſolute aſcendancy over the clergy, as well as the laity, of his dominions; and he had no intention to part with any ſhare of his authority.

In order to convince the pope that all his hopes of re uniting the Engliſh church to his juriſdiction were vain and groundleſs, this parliament paſſed an act, ſubjecting to the penalty of præmunire all thoſe who ſhould endeavour to reſtore the papal power in England; and all magiſtrates who ſhould neglect to put this law in execution were condemned to the ſame puniſhment.

By another they annulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, exemptions, and privileges, procured from the court of Rome, ſaving, however, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury the right of confirming what ſhould be deemed advantageous to the church and people.

A third prohibited marriage with any of the king's relations, unleſs permiſſion ſhould be previouſly aſked and obtained. This ſtatute was made in conſequence of a clandeſtine match between Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, and Margaret

Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, who, together with her husband, was committed to the Tower for this presumption.

A fourth law enacted that all encroachments of parliament upon the king's prerogative, before he should have attained the age of twenty-four, might be annulled by letters patent under the great seal of England.

In a word, one would be tempted to think, that this parliament had assembled for no other purpose than that of bestowing upon Henry a more extensive authority, than what had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

Nor did the clergy yield to the parliament in this slavish kind of complaisance: the convocation ratified the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Boleyn, upon the supposed pre-contract subsisting between that lady and the lord Piercy, though this nobleman swore in the most solemn manner, that no such engagement had ever existed.

The lower house of convocation being averse to Cranmer, Cromwell, and all those who encouraged the Reformation, and concluding that the persons whom Anne had protected would now be involved in her ruin, sent up to the higher house sixty-seven

ven propoſitions, which they conſidered as herctical.

At the ſame time, the deputies inveighed bitterly againſt innovations in religion, and thoſe by whom they was introduced, meaning Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, and Latimer. They had taken care, in their propoſitions, to intermix ſeveral doctrines profeſſed by the Lutherans, ancient Lollards, and Anabaptiſts, inſinuating, that all theſe opinions were indiſcriminately embraced by the Reformers.

But they were happily diſappointed in their expectations: Cranmer and Cromwell ſtill maintained their former influence at court, and the latter was appointed the king's vicegerent in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. In this character he informed the convocation, that the king deſired that the rites and ceremonies of the church might be reformed by the rules of ſcripture; and in a few days he preſented to them a ſet of ſtatutes compoſed by Henry himſelf, concerning religious doctrine, that the clergy might examine them, and acquaint his majeſty with the reſult of their deliberations.

In this debate the friends and enemies of the Reformation declared themſelves openly, and reſolved to ſupport their different opinions. Cranmer was joined by Goodrick

rick biſhop of Ely, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Latimer of Worceſter, Barlow of St. David's, Fox of Hereford, and Hilſey of Rocheſter.

The other party were headed by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſly biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle. Theſe were ſecret friends of the pope, with whom they hoped an accommodation would one day be accompliſhed.

But Cranmer and Cromwell, who poſſeſſed the king's confidence, had the addreſs to perſuade him, that the clauſes of which they complained, tended directly to the ſupport of papal uſurpation.

After warm debates, the convocation agreed to certain articles, digeſted in the form of conſtitutions, importing, that the holy ſcripture was the foundation of faith, together with the Creed of the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and that of Athanaſius: that baptiſm was abſolutely neceſſary as well as penitence, conſiſting in the three acts of contrition, auricular confeſſion, and amendment of life: that the real body of Chriſt was preſent in the Euchariſt: that juſtification was attained by regeneration, compoſed of contrition, faith, and charity: that images

images ſhould be retained in churches; but that the worſhip ſhould not be paid to the image, but to God alone: that ſaints ought to be honoured, though without believing that they could grant what none but God can beſtow: that they might nevertheleſs be invoked, without ſuperſtition, and their feſtivals kept; but the number of theſe might be lawfully abridged by the king's authority: that the uſual ceremonies of the church ſhould be preſerved; ſuch as the prieſt's veſtments, holy water, conſecrated bread, tapers on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, palms on Palm-Sunday, proſtrations before the croſs on Good-Friday, hallowings of the font, exorciſms, and benedictions: that prayers ſhould be put up for departed ſouls, and alms given for maſſes and obſequies; but as the place they were in, and the pains they ſuffered, had not been aſcertained by ſcripture, they ought to be left wholly to the mercy of God: that the ridiculous notions of purgatory ſhould be exploded; ſuch as that ſouls could be freed from it by the pope's pardon, or by maſſes ſaid in certain places, or before certain images. Theſe conſtitutions, corrected in ſome places by the king's own hand, were ſubſcribed by Cromwell, Cranmer, ſeventeen biſhops, forty abbots or priors, and fifty archdeacons

cons or deputies from the lower houſe of convocation, among whom were two Italians, namely, Peter Vannes archdeacon of Worceſter, and Polydore Virgil archdeacon of Wells, who wrote an hiſtory of England.

Before the convocation was diſſolved, the king communicated to both houſes a ſummons he had received from a council, which the pope, in concert with the emperor, had appointed to meet at Mantua. The clergy having conſidered this ſubject, declared, that neither the pope, nor any prince upon earth, had power to aſſemble a general council without the concurrence of all the ſovereigns in Chriſtendom.

In conſequence of this deciſion, Henry publiſhed a proteſt againſt the council of Mantua, declaring, he could not regard that as a free council, in which the biſhod of Rome preſided, which was convoked in a ſuſpected place, and which could not be compoſed of any great number of prelates during the war between France and the emperor.

About this time Reginald Pole began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his taſte and learning. He was deſcended from the duke of Clarence, and conſequently allied to the king, who determined to advance him to the higheſt dignities of the church, con-

ferred upon him the deanry of Exeter, and ſent him to finiſh his ſtudies at Paris.

He refuſed to concur with Henry's agents in procuring the deciſions of the French univerſities, in favour of the divorce, which he himſelf diſapproved. He afterwards returned to England, and agreed with the clergy in owning Henry as ſupreme head of the church.

Then he travelled into Italy, where he became famous for his wit and eloquence; and contracted an acquaintance with the moſt eminent men and writers of that country.

Henry, being informed that he openly condemned him for his ſeparation from the apoſtolic ſee, ſent him a book compoſed by doctor Sampſon, in vindication of his conduct. To this performance Pole wrote an anſwer, entitled, De Unione Eccleſiaſtica, in which he treated the king with great ſeverity, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar; and exhorting the emperor and other European princes to attack him with all their forces.

Henry, though provoked at this inſolent behaviour, concealed his reſentment, and begged he would come over to explain ſome paſſages in his book, which were ſomewhat dark and obſcure; but finding him upon his guard, he ſtripped him of his dignities,

nities, and wreaked his revenge on Pole's family and relations.

The pope, however, took care to reward him for his attachment to the Roman ſee, by preſenting him with a cardinal's hat, in conſequence of which he became more and more devoted to the intereſt of his holineſs.

The ſuppreſſion of the ſmall monaſteries, though enacted in the firſt ſeſſion of parliament, did not take place till the month of Auguſt, when it occaſioned great clamours through the whole nation. The people, inflamed by the ſuggeſtions of the monks, who inſinuated that the king meant to deſtroy all the monaſteries without exception, aſſembled in Lincolnſhire, to the number of twenty thouſand; and choſe for their leader one doctor Mackrel, prior of Barlins, diſguiſed in the habit of a cobler.

Henry was no ſooner informed of this inſurrection, than he ſent the duke of Norfolk with a good body of forces againſt the rebels; but that nobleman, unwilling to proceed to extremities, propoſed a conference with ſome of their chiefs, and tranſmitted to the king an account of their demand. Theſe imported, that his majeſty ſhould grant them a general pardon: that he ſhould aſſemble a parliament at York, and erect a court of juſtice in the North:

that the inhabitants of thoſe parts might not be obliged to proſecute their law-ſuits at London: that certain laws lately enacted to the prejudice of the people ſhould be repealed: that the princeſs Mary ſhould be declared legitimate, and the pope's authority re-eſtabliſhed on its ancient footing: that the monaſteries which had been ſuppreſſed, ſhould be reſtored to their former condition: that the Lutherans, and all innovators in religion, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: that Thomas Cromwell and Audeley the chancellor ſhould be excluded from the royal preſence and the parliament: and that Leigh and Leighton, the viſitors of the monaſteries, ſhould be committed to priſon, and obliged to give an account of their violence and extortion.

Theſe demands were rejected by Henry; and the rebels, unable to carry their point, and afraid of coming to an engagement with regular forces, were glad to lay down their arms, on obtaining a promiſe that the two firſt articles of their petition ſhould be granted.

But Henry had no intention to indulge them even with this favour. He ſtill ordered the duke of Norfolk to continue in arms, to overawe the malecontents, and to exact the oath of ſupremacy from all perſons, of whatever rank or condition. Theſe proceedings

ceedings gave riſe to a freſh rebellion. Two gentlemen, called Muſgrave and Tilby, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an attempt upon Carliſle, from which, however, they were repulſed, and afterwards entirely defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Muſgrave eſcaped; but Tilby, with ſeventy of his followers, were taken and hanged upon the walls of Carliſle.*

The ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, was followed by an event of a ſtill more joyous and important nature. This was the birth of a young prince, who was born at Hampton-court, on the twelfth day of Auguſt, and was baptiſed by the name of Edward; though the mother died in about twelve days after her delivery. This child was immediately created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter.

On the ſame occaſion, the queen's brother, Sir Edward Seymour, lately made lord Beauchamp, was dignified with the title of earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliams was promoted to the earldom of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, treaſurer of the houſhold, was created lord St. John; and

* A. D. 1537.

Sir John Ruſſel was honoured with the title of lord Ruſſel.

Henry had been ſo incenſed by the ill offices of the monks, who excited the late inſurrections, that he determined to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries in England, without exception; a reſolution in which he was as much actuated by intereſt as reſentment, for he had already devoured, in imagination, the rents and riches of all the convents and religious houſes.

Conſcious, however, that this meaſure might occaſion ſome clamours in the nation, he reſolved to remove the prejudices of the people, by expoſing the enormities committed in thoſe receptacles of vice and debauchery. With this view he ordered another minute viſitation of the monaſteries; when ſuch ſcenes of impurity and impoſture were brought to light, as could not fail to excite the ſurprize and indignation of the public.*

A great number of monks, and even ſome abbots and friars, were found guilty of holding correſpondence with the rebels, and were executed as traitors. Many purchaſed their lives, by reſigning their houſes into the king's hands; ſome delivered up their monaſteries, from motives of conſcience;

* A. D. 1538.

ſcience; others, to avoid puniſhment and diſgrace; but all of them were indulged with penſions for their maintenance.

Had nothing appeared againſt theſe religious foundations, but the vice and wickedneſs of the abbots, abbeſſes, nuns, and friars, the people would have naturally concluded, that the inſtitution, if good in itſelf, ought not to have been aboliſhed for the profligacy of the members, who might have been changed and reformed.

But the king took a more effectual method to diſabuſe the people, with regard to the ſuppoſed ſanctity of relics, images, and all the other trumpery of ſuperſtition. The commiſſioners were ordered to examine, and, if poſſible, diſcover the arts by which the monks impoſed upon the ignorance of the people; and then the whole apparatus of religious impoſture was expoſed; not but that the ſhocking crimes committed in convents were likewiſe publiſhed, in order to undeceive the nation.

The impurities of Sodom and Gomorrah are ſaid to have been equalled, if not exceeded, in the Battel-abbey, Chriſt-church in Canterbury, and ſeveral other convents. There appeared innumerable inſtances of whoredom, adultery, onaniſm, and other unnatural and brutal practices; with arts to prevent conception, and procure abortion,

tion, among the nuns who had been deflowered.

With regard to the implements of idolatry and ſuperſtition, Reading ſeems to have been the grand repoſitory of the nation. There the viſitors found an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the ſpear that pierced the ſide of Jeſus Chriſt, with ſuch a catalogue of other relics as filled up four ſheets of paper.

At St. Edmundſbury, they diſcovered ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and ſome of her milk; the head of St. Urſula; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas a Becket; part of the ſame ſaint's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; and certain relics to prevent a head-ach, and the generation of weeds among corn.

There were likewiſe diſcovered in the monaſteries, ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, had been ſhewn, for ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt, pretended to be brought from Jeruſalem; and it is natural to think, that this relic would be held in the higheſt eſtimation.

This relic was ſuppoſed to be attended with a very ſurpriſing circumſtance: the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal

mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and, till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to his longing eyes.

At the diſſolution of the monaſtery, the whole contrivance was diſcovered. Two of the monks, who were entruſted with the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it into a phial, one ſide of which was thin and tranſparent, and the other thick and obſcure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his crimes; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, exhauſted, they bleſſed him with the happy ſight, by turning the bright ſide of the phial.

There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the rod of grace, which had been long held in the higheſt veneration, becauſe it had been ſeen to bend and raiſe itſelf, ſhake the head, hands, and feet, roll the eyes, and move the lips. This puppet, being brought to London, was broke in pieces, in ſight of the people, at St. Paul's croſs, where, with their own eyes, they beheld the ſprings and wheels by which it had been actuated.

A great

A great wooden idol of Wales, called Darvel Gatheren, was brought up to London, and cut in pieces; and, by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forreſt; who was condemned for denying the ſupremacy, and ſome heretical opinions.

A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of ſilver, had been pawned by the convent of Weſtacre, for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commiſſioners refuſed to redeem the pledge, the people made merry with the poor creditor, on account of his ſecurity.

But of all the inſtruments of ancient ſuperſtition, the moſt famous and reſpected was the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Thomas was indebted for his ſainthip, to the vigorous efforts which he had exerted in defence of the holy ſee; and, for the ſame reaſon, the monks had zealouſly encouraged the practice of pilgrimages to his tomb, which, according to their accounts, performed the moſt ſingular and ſurpriſing miracles.

They raiſed his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his tranſlation, was obſerved as a general holiday: every fifteenth year they honoured his memory with a jubilee, which laſted fifteen days:

days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that viſited his tomb; and a hundred thouſand pilgrims have been regiſtered at a time in Canterbury.

The devotion paid to him had almoſt effaced, in that town, the adoration of our Saviour, and even that of the Virgin herſelf. At Chriſt's altar, for inſtance, there was offered in one year three pounds two ſhillings and ſix-pence; at the Virgin's, forty three pounds five ſhillings and ſix-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and three pence.

But next year the diſproportion was ſtill greater: there was not a penny offered at Chriſt's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one ſhilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his ſhare, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and three pence. Lewis the ſeventh of France had viſited this tomb, and preſented it with a jewel, which was deemed the richeſt in Europe.

It is eaſy to conceive, how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his ſchemes for aboliſhing the authority of the Roman ſee. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine dedicated to St. Thomas; but he cauſed the ſaint himſelf to be ſummoned to appear in court,

court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be erazed from the calendar; the office for his feſtival expunged from the breviary; his bones to be burned; and the aſhes diſſipated.

The news of theſe proceedings had no ſooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and ſatires againſt the perſon and conduct of Henry. He was repreſented as the moſt infamous and ſacrilegious tyrant that ever exiſted. They compared him to Belſhazzar, Nero, Domitian, Diocleſian, and, eſpecially, to Julian the apoſtate, whom he reſembled in his learning and apoſtacy, though he was greatly inferior in point of morals.

Henry had ſome emiſſaries at Rome, who acquainted him, that the intelligence from England was commonly addreſſed to cardinal Pole. That prelate's pen being ſtill diſcoverable in ſome of the keeneſt ſatires, Henry conceived ſuch an implacable hatred againſt him, as he had never entertained againſt any other perſon; and wreaked his vengeance on the cardinal's relations.

His reſentment was ſtill further inflamed, when he heard that Pole, not ſatisfied with having reviled his character, maintained a ſecret correſpondence of a more dangerous nature,

nature, with ſome of the Engliſh malecontents; and was even ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown, by means of a marriage with the princeſs Mary.

The king was informed of theſe circumſtances by Sir Geoffry de la Pole, the cardinal's relation; and, in conſequence of this information, Henry Courtney, marquis of Exeter, grandſon of Edward the fourth; Henry de la Pole, lord Montague; Sir Edward Nevil; and Sir Nicholas Carew, knight of the garter; were tried, convicted, and executed as traitors.

Pope Paul the third, had hitherto ſuſpended the bull of excommunication which he had formerly paſſed againſt Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had cut off all poſſibility of a reconciliation, he now publiſhed the bull with great ſolemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring princes againſt the Engliſh monarch, and even offered his kingdom to James king of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to ſubdue it.

Henry, unterrified by the thunders of the Vatican, reſolved to ſet his holineſs at defiance. With this view, he exacted of all biſhops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authori-

ty; and a new tranſlation of the Bible, printed at London, being put into his hands by Cromwell, he allowed copies of it to be diſtributed in the principal churches of the kingdom.

At the ſame time, he enjoined the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Confeſſion of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. They were ordered to recommend good works, and teach the people, that relics, roſaries, and all other trumpery of the like nature, were unneceſſary to ſalvation.

All the images, to which devotees made offerings, were removed; all the tapers were taken away, except thoſe that burned before the image of Chriſt; and all the invocations of "Ora pro nobis," added to the prayers addreſſed to ſaints, were entirely aboliſhed.

Though Henry had given this mortal blow to the old religion, there were yet ſome tenets of that perſuaſion, to which he always firmly adhered; and from which neither his own learning and good ſenſe, nor the arguments and importunities of his friends, could ever make him recede.

The point in which he chiefly placed his orthodoxy, happened to be the real Preſence: the doctrine, which of all the ab-abſurdities of the Romiſh church, is the moſt abſurd and ridiculous. All departure from this

this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable; and nothing, he imagined, would redound more to his honour, than, while he renounced all connexion with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this eſſential article, the purity of the Catholic faith.

There was one Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter in London, who had been committed to cuſtody for unſound opinions by archbiſhop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the changing of councils at court, he had been releaſed.

Not intimidated by the danger, which he had ſo lately incurred, he ſtill continued to propagate his tenets; and having heard doctor Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, defend in a ſermon the corporal preſence, he could not help acquainting the doctor with his diſſent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten ſeveral heads.

Taylor gave the paper to doctor Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the euchariſt, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and were, in a certain myſterious manner, incorporated with the material elements.

By the preſent laws and practice, Barnes was no leſs guilty of hereſy than Lambert:

yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which then prevailed, that he was reſolved to bring this man to the ſtake, becauſe, in their common departure from ancient ſuperſtition, he had preſumed to go one ſtep farther than himſelf.

He perſuaded Taylor to delate Lambert to Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever private ſentiments they might entertain, were obliged, in public, to conform themſelves to the ſtandard of orthodoxy, eſtabliſhed by Henry. When Lambert was ſummoned before theſe prelates, they endeavoured to perſuade him to a recantation; but they were greatly ſurprized, when, inſtead of compliance, he ventured to appeal to the king.

Henry being pleaſed with an opportunity, where he could at once exerciſe his ſupremacy, and diſplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and was reſolved, tho' very unjuſtly, to mix the diſputant with the judge.

Public notice was given that he deſigned to enter the liſts with this ſchoolmaſter: ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, inveſted with all the enſigns of majeſty: the prelates were ſeated on his right hand: the temporal peers on his left: the judges and

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moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops: the courtiers of the greateſt diſtinction behind the peers: and in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, in order to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt.

The biſhop of Chicheſter opened the conference, by obſerving, that Lambert being accuſed of hereſy, had appealed from his biſhop to the king, as if he expected more favour from this quarter, and as if the king could ever be perſuaded to protect an heretic: that though his majeſty had renounced the authority of the biſhop of Rome; ſuppreſſed ſome uſeleſs monaſteries, where the monks lived like drones in a bee-hive; aboliſhed the idolatrous worſhip of images; publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh for the inſtruction of his ſubjects; and made ſome other alterations which met with univerſal approbation; yet was he reſolved to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to inflict condign puniſhment upon all thoſe who ſhould preſume to deviate from it: and that he had embraced the preſent opportunity, before ſo auguſt an aſſembly, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he ſhould ſtill continue to perſevere in them, he muſt expect to be treated with all the rigour and ſeverity of the law.

After this introduction, which was, by no means, calculated to raiſe the ſpirits of Lambert, the king aſked his antagoniſt, with a ſtern countenance, what was his opinion of Chriſt's corporal preſence in the euchariſt; and when Lambert began his anſwer with ſome compliments to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with horror and averſion.

He afterwards attacked Lambert with ſome arguments drawn from ſcripture, and the ſchoolmen: the audience extolled the ſtrength of his reaſoning, and the depth of his knowledge: Cranmer ſupported his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner entered the liſts as an auxiliary to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal; and ſix biſhops more appeared in the field againſt Lambert.

In this manner, the diſputation, if ſuch it might be called, was protracted for the ſpace of five hours; till, at length, the unhappy ſchoolmaſter, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and over-awed, was reduced to a total ſilence.

Then the king, returning to the charge, aſked him, whether or not he was convinced? and receiving no anſwer, propoſed, as a concluding argument, this awful queſtion, whether he was determined to live or die? Lambert, who was naturally brave,

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and whoſe bravery was further increaſed by the ſolemnity of the ſcene, replied, that he ſubmitted himſelf to the king's mercy. Henry told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that was his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Accordingly Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced his ſentence; and he was burned in Smithfield with horrid circumſtances of barbarity.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this proof of his orthodoxy, convoked a parliament,* which being entirely at his devotion, enacted the law of the ſix articles, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Bloody Statute, denouncing death againſt all thoſe who ſhould deny tranſubſtantiation; maintain the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament in both hands; affirm, that it was lawful for prieſts to marry;† that the vows of

* A. D. 1539.

† There is a ſtory, that the duke of Norfolk, who had a conſiderable hand in procuring this law to be paſſed, happening, ſoon after, to meet one of his chaplains, who was ſuſpected of favouring the Reformation, ſaid to him, "Now, Sir, what think you "of the law to hinder prieſts from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have "done that; but, I will anſwer for it, you cannot "hinder men's wives from having prieſts."

of chaſtity might be broken; that private maſſes were of no avail; and that auricular confeſſion was not neceſſary to ſalvation.

This ſtatute was ſuggeſted by Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who aſſured the king, that nothing would more effectually prevent the formation of a league againſt him, than thus to convince the world, that he had not altered the eſſentials of religion; and that no prince or perſon could accuſe him of hereſy, while he maintained theſe ſix articles, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed true Catholics from ſectaries and innovators.

Henry ſeemed to be ſo fully ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, that he reſolved to execute the articles with the utmoſt rigour and ſecurity. In conſequence of this reſolution, no leſs than five hundred perſons, in the city of London, were committed to priſon for having preſumed to condemn the ſtatute; but the chancellor repreſented the pernicious conſequences of theſe proceedings, in ſuch pathetic terms, to the king, that he pardoned all thoſe who had been arreſted; and put a ſtop for the preſent to all further perſecution.

Henry being deſirous of reconciling the minds of the people to the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, pretended that he had received undoubted intelligence of a deſign

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to invade England; and in order to guard againſt the imaginary danger, he viſited the ſea-coaſts in perſon, and began to build bulwarks for the defence of the kingdom, as well as to equip a fleet for the protection of commerce; declaring that all this extraordinary expence would be defrayed by the revenues of monaſteries, without any additional tax upon the people.

The parliament, which was wholly at his devotion, confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe houſes, on the preſumption that he would employ their income in eſtabliſhing other religious foundations, and, by another act, enabled him to erect ſome new biſhoprics.

The number of monaſteries ſuppreſſed in England and Wales, amounted to ſix hundred and forty-five; of which twenty eight had abbots, who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament: ninety colleges were demoliſhed, together with two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four chantres and free chapels: the annual revenue of the whole, being equal to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand and one hundred pounds.

From this fund, Henry encreaſed the number of colleges and profeſſors in the univerſities; and erected the biſhoprics of Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter: that of Weſtminſter

ſter was diſſolved by queen Mary, and Benedictines placed in the abbey; but queen Elizabeth afterwards converted it into a collegiate church, and a ſeminary for young ſcholars.

In this ſeſſion the parliament paſſed an act, ordaining, that the ſame obedience ſhould be given to the king's proclamation, or an order of council during a minority, as was due to an act of parliament; but under certain reſtrictions. By another ſtatute, they regulated the rank of the nobility; and Cromwell, though the ſon of a blackſmith, was honoured with the firſt place, immediately after the princes of the blood.

Then they confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt the marquis of Exeter, and the reſt who had been beheaded for maintaining a correſpondence with cardinal Pole; and, for the ſame offence, condemned the cardinal's mother, the counteſs of Saliſbury, and the marchioneſs of Exeter, without permitting them to plead in their own defence, though they were both princeſſes of the blood royal.

The king granted a pardon to the marchioneſs, and a reprieve to the counteſs; though this laſt was ſoon after brought to the block, for having been concerned in a petty

petty inſurrection, which was raiſed in the north.

When this aged matron was carried to the place of execution, ſhe maintained ſtill, in thoſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended. She refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence which had been paſſed without any legal trial.

She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head, he muſt win it in the beſt manner he could: and then, ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her, aiming many a fruitleſs blow at her neck, before he was able to give her the fatal ſtroke.

Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre for the ſpace of three hundred years.

The execution of Lambert, the enacting of the bloody ſtatute, and ſeveral other late proceedings of Henry, which ſeemed to denote his attachment to the Catholic faith, were extremely alarming to Cranmer and Cromwell, who ſecretly favoured the Reformation; and, finding their credit begin to decline, they thought there was no method

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ſo likely to recover their influence, as that of perſuading the king to eſpouſe another wife, upon whoſe protection they could depend.

With this view, they caſt their eyes upon Anne, ſiſter to the duke of Cleves, and to the dutcheſs of Saxony; and Cromwell undertook to conclude a marriage between Henry and this princeſs.

As this was a better match than Anne had any reaſon to expect, there was no difficulty in procuring her conſent; and the articles of marriage being preſently ſettled, ſhe was ſoon after conducted to England.

Henry was no ſooner informed of her arrival, than he went incognito to Rocheſter, to ſee his future conſort, and found her ſo different from her picture, which had been drawn by Sir Hans Holbein, that, in the violence of his paſſion, he ſwore they had brought him a Flanders mare for a wife.

Reflecting, however, that her brother the duke of Cleves was one of the moſt conſiderable princes in Germany; that her brother-in-law, the duke of Saxony, was the chief of the league of Smalcalde; and that the emperor was then at Paris, endeavouring to draw off Francis from the intereſts of England, he would not run the riſk of affronting

ing two ſuch powerful potentates, at a time when he might have occaſion for their aſſiſtance; and therefore he eſpouſed the princeſs, on the ſixth day of January.*

Next day, when Cromwell aſked him how he liked his new bed-fellow, he told that nobleman in confidence, that he liked her worſe than ever; that he ſhrewdly ſuſpected ſhe was no maid; that ſhe had diſagreeable ſmells about her; and that he was afraid he ſhould never be able to conſummate his marriage.

Nevertheleſs, he continued to live decently with her for the ſpace of five months, during which his averſion ſeemed rather to encreaſe; though ſhe did not appear to be greatly concerned at his indifference. She was naturally dull and phlegmatic; ſhe had no taſte for muſick, of which Henry was extremely fond; and ſhe was totally unacquainted with the Engliſh language, of which, however, ſhe ſoon acquired a competent knowledge.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth day of April, Cromwell opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he told the two houſes, that the king, being deſirous to

* A. D. 1540.

put an end to all religious disputes, had appointed commissioners to examine the controverted articles, that a rule of faith might be established upon the word of God alone; and that, after such a standard should be fixed, he was determined to inflict the most severe punishments upon all those who should dare to dissent from the public creed.

These commissioners, being approved by the parliament, were ordered to begin their examination without delay; and, in the mean time, the king promoted Cromwell to the title of earl of Essex.

During this session, the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem was dissolved, on pretence of their attachment to the pope and the emperor; and all their effects in England and Ireland were forfeited to the king, who allowed them an annual pension of three thousand pounds for their subsistence.

The king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances. His aversion to the queen encreased every day; and, having at last broke all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage which he so much detested, and to effect the ruin of

of his favourite miniſter, who had been the chief author of the match.

The fall of Cromwell was accelerated by other cauſes. All the nobility hated a man, who, being of ſuch mean extraction, had not only ſupplanted them in the favour of their ſovereign, but had alſo engroſſed into his own hands many of the moſt conſiderable offices of the kingdom.

Beſides the poſt of vicar-general, which he had lately received from his majeſty, and which inveſted him with an almoſt abſolute authority over the laity as well as clergy, he was lord privy-ſeal, lord-chamberlain, and maſter of the wards: he had likewiſe obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had never been conferred on any but men of the moſt illuſtrious families, or thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by performing ſome ſignal ſervice to their country.

The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the deſtruction of the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by many of the commonalty. The Catholics conſidered him as the ſecret enemy of their religion: the Proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were diſpoſed to bear him as little

favour; and the king, perceiving that great clamours had been raiſed againſt the government, was glad of an opportunity to throw on Cromwell all the load of public odium; and, by giving up his favourite to the vengeance of the people, he hoped he ſhould be able, to recover the affections of his ſubjects.

But there was another cauſe, which ſuddenly ſet all thoſe ſprings in motion, and produced an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry.

The king had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, neice to the duke of Norfolk; and, being reſolved to gratify this new appetite, he could not bethink himſelf of any other expedient than that of procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, and advancing Catharine Howard to his bed and throne.

Norfolk, who had long entertained a ſecret grudge againſt Cromwell, made the ſame uſe of Catharine's inſinuations, to effect the ruin of that miniſter, which he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's to accompliſh the fall of cardinal Wolſey; and, when every thing was ready for the execution of his ſcheme, he obtained an order from the king to arreſt Cromwell for high-treaſon, and commit him priſoner to the Tower.

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Immediately after his commitment, a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial or form of proceſs, to condemn to death a man, whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the kingdom. The bill met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of commons, though, at length, it was paſſed by the influence of the Catholics.

Cromwell was charged with hereſy and treaſon; but the facts adduced to prove his guilt, were equally falſe and ridiculous. The only part of his conduct, by which he ſeems to have deſerved this fate, was his being the inſtrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting the like iniquitous bills againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury, and others.

Cromwell endeavoured to move the compaſſion of his maſter by the moſt humble ſupplications; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual: it was not the cuſtom of Henry to ruin his miniſters and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy priſoner wrote to him once in ſuch an affecting ſtrain, as even to draw tears from his eyes, he ſteeled his heart againſt all the emotions of pity, and abſolutely refuſed to indulge him with a pardon.

Cromwell concluded his letter with theſe words: "I, a moſt woful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death, when it ſhall "pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet "the frail fleſh incites me to call to your "grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower, with the "heavy heart and trembling hand of your "highneſs's moſt miſerable priſoner and "poor ſlave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "moſt gracious prince, I cry "for mercy, mercy, mercy."

When brought to the ſcaffold, he declined all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the injuſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. He knew that Henry would puniſh his ſon for thoſe ſymptoms of oppoſition to his will, and that his death alone would not ſatiate that monarch's vengeance.

He was a man of prudence, ſagacity, and moderation; worthy of a better maſter, and of a better fate. Though raiſed, from a very low origin, to the higheſt pinnacle of fortune, he never diſcovered the leaſt inſolence or contempt of his inferiors; but was extremely careful to remember and requite the obligation, which, during his meaner circumſtances, he had owed to any one.

He

He had ſerved as a private centinel in the wars of Italy, where he received ſome good offices from a Lucqueze merchant, who had entirely forgot his perſon, as well as the ſervice which he had done him: Cromwell happened, in the midſt of his grandeur, to obſerve in the ſtreets of London, his old benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately ſent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendſhip, and by his liberal aſſiſtance, enabled him to retrieve his ruined affairs.

The proſecution of the king's divorce was carried on at the ſame time with the bill of attainder againſt Cromwell. The parliament, being properly tutored, preſented a petition to his majeſty, deſiring he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given for laying the matter before the convocation. Anne of Cleves had been formerly betrothed to the duke of Lorrain; but both ſhe and the duke were at that time minors, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by the common conſent of the parties.

The king, however, inſiſted upon this contract as a ground of divorce; and he ſubjoined two other reaſons, of a very ſingular

gular nature; namely, that, when he married Anne, he had not inwardly given his conſent, and that he had not as yet conſummated his nuptials.

The convocation, who hardly durſt preſume to think freely, and far leſs to ſpeak their real ſentiments, were obliged to be ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and accordingly declared the marriage between the king and queen to be null and void: the parliament confirmed the verdict of the clergy; and the ſentence was ſoon after notified to that princeſs.

Anne was endued with a happy inſenſibility of temper, even in thoſe points which moſt nearly concern her ſex; and ſhe had hitherto beheld the king's indifference, as well as his proſecution of the divorce, with the moſt perfect indifference.

She willingly liſtened to terms of compoſition with him; and when he offered to declare her his adopted ſiſter, to give her precedency before all the ladies of England, but his own wife and daughter, and to aſſign her an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year; ſhe readily accepted the conditions, and agreed to the divorce without reluctance.

She even ſent a letter to acquaint her brother, that ſhe had met with very good treatment

treatment in England, and begged he would maintain a good underſtanding with Henry. The only inſtance of pride which ſhe diſcovered, was, that ſhe refuſed to return to her own country, after the affront ſhe had received; and ſhe therefore continued to live in England till the day of her death.

Henry had no ſooner carried this point, than he declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had ſome time ago privately married; and as this lady was entirely devoted to her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, the king's councils were wholly directed by theſe two courtiers; in conſequence of which a furious perſecution was commenced againſt the Proteſtants, and the law of the ſix articles was executed with great rigour and ſeverity.

Doctor Barnes, who had been the principal author of Lambert's death, now felt, in his turn, the violence of the perſecuting ſpirit; and by a bill, which paſſed in parliament without trial, he was condemned to the flames, together with other two prieſts, named Jerome and Gerard. He handled theological controverſies even at the ſtake; and as the diſpute between him and the ſheriff happened to relate to the invocation

tion of ſaints, he ſaid, that he queſtioned much whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators.

While Henry was thus endeavouring to compel his Proteſtant ſubjects to adhere to ſuch articles of the Catholic faith as he thought proper to ſupport, he was no leſs ſevere againſt the Papiſts who ventured to deny his ſupremacy; and a foreigner, who was then in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged.

The king was even ambitious of diſplaying, in an oſtentatious manner, this tyrannical impartiality which filled every breaſt with terror and conſternation. Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three different hurdles; and, along with them, there was placed on each hurdle a Catholic, who was alſo condemned for his religion. Theſe Catholics were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powel, who declared that the moſt intolerable circumſtance of their puniſhment, was the being coupled to ſuch execrable heretics as ſuffered with them.

Henry

Henry knew, that, by his late proceedings, he had expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of all the Catholic princes of Europe, who would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of making him feel the effects of their vengeance. Fully ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, he reſolved, if poſſible, to contract an alliance with his nephew, James king of Scotland; that, in caſe of a rupture with any other potentate, he might, at leaſt, be ſecure on the northern frontier.

With this view, he ſent a meſſenger to that prince, propoſing an interview at York; and James, who had a great regard for his uncle, readily agreed to the propoſal.* But the Scottiſh clergy, apprehenſive of the conſequences of this interview, and fearing leſt Henry ſhould perſuade his nephew to follow his example, in ſuppreſſing monaſteries, and making other alterations in religion, exerted their utmoſt efforts, in order to prevent the intended conference; and, by dint of large preſents, and larger promiſes, they at laſt prevailed upon James to delay his journey, and then to ſend an apology to his uncle, who had already repaired to York for the purpoſe.

Henry

* A. D. 1541.

Henry was highly incenſed at this affront, for which he threatened to take vengeance on his nephew; and he immediately began, by permitting captures at ſea, and incurſions at land, to carry his threats into execution.

But it was not long before he received an affront of a more delicate and intereſting nature. He had thought himſelf extremely happy in his new marriage: he was charmed with the youth, beauty, and agreeable diſpoſition of Catharine; and he made no ſecret of his love and affection for his amiable conſort.

He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to God for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal ſtate; and he ordered the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe.

But the queen was extremely unworthy of all his tenderneſs and affection: ſhe had abandoned herſelf to lewdneſs and debauchery.

One Laſcelles acquainted Cranmer with her diſſolute life; and told him, that his ſiſter, formerly a ſervant in the family of the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, with whom Catharine was educated, had given him a particular account of all her intrigues.

Mannoc

Mannoc and Derham, both of them ſervants of the dutcheſs, had been admitted to her bed; and ſhe had been at no pains to conceal her ſhame from the other ſervants of the family.

The primate, alarmed at this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or diſcover, imparted the matter to the earl of Hertford and the chancellor. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair ſhould not be overlooked; and the archbiſhop himſelf appeared the moſt proper perſon to hint it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote an account of the whole, and ſent it to Henry, who was confounded at the intelligence.

He was ſo fully convinced of the fidelity of his ſpouſe, that he gave at firſt no credit to the information; and he ſaid to the lord privy-ſeal, to lord Ruſſel, high-admiral, and to ſeveral others, that he conſidered the whole as a malicious forgery.

Cranmer was now in a very dangerous ſituation; and, had not ſufficient evidence appeared to prove his intelligence, he muſt have been involved in inevitable ruin. The king, however, was of too jealous and impatient a temper, not to ſearch the matter to the bottom.

He ordered the lord privy-seal to question Lascelles, who still persisted in the account he had given; and, for the truth of his assertion, appealed to the testimony of his sister. Next day the privy-seal made a pretence of hunting in the county of Sussex, and went to the house where the woman resided; he found her both constant in her former information, and particular with regard to the facts; and the whole story had but too much the air of probability.

Mannoc and Derham, who were seized at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, acknowledged that they had long carried on a criminal correspondence with the queen; and they likewise discovered some particulars of a private nature, which redounded still more to her dishonour.

Three maids of the family were intrusted with her secrets; and some of them had even passed the night in the same bed with her and her paramours. All these circumstances were reported to the king, who was so deeply affected, that he stood for some time speechless, and at last burst into tears.

The queen, being now examined, denied her guilt; but when told, that a full discovery was made, she owned that she had been criminal before her marriage; and only

ly

ly inſiſted, that ſhe had never defiled his majeſty's bed.

But as it appeared, that one Colepeper had paſſed the night with her ſince her marriage; and that ſhe had taken Derham, her old gallant, into her ſervice; ſhe ſeemed to merit very little credit in this declaration; and, beſides, the king was not of a temper to make any great difference between theſe degrees of guilt.

Henry was ſenſible, that the beſt and readieſt method to take vengeance on theſe criminals would be to convoke a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny.

The two houſes, having peruſed the queen's confeſſion, waited upon his majeſty with an addreſs, which conſiſted of ſeveral particulars. They beſought him not to be vexed at this unlucky accident, to which all men were equally liable; but to reflect on the frailty of human nature, and the vanity of all ſublunary enjoyments; and from thence to draw a ſubject of conſolation.

They begged leave to bring in a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her aſſociates; and they intreated him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which might renew his ſorrow, and endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for

that purpoſe. Recollecting, however, that there was a law in force, declaring it high-treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, as well as the king, they aſked his royal pardon, if any of them, ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, incur the penalty on that ſtatute.

Having received a gracious anſwer to this petition, the parliament proceeded to frame an act of attainder for treaſon againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had been the principal confidant of her ſtolen debauches; and in this act Colepepper and Derham were likewiſe included.

At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt Catharine's grandmother, the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgwater, and nine other perſons; becauſe they were acquainted with the queen's vicious life before her marriage, and yet had concealed it.

This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to think, that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to diſcover to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family.

He

He himſelf ſeems to have been convinced of the injuſtice of this ſentence; for he granted a pardon in favour of the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others, who had been condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

Nevertheleſs, in order to ſecure himſelf, as well as his ſucceſſors, againſt ſuch a fatal accident for the future, he perſuaded the parliament to enact a law equally ridiculous and extravagant. It was decreed, that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, diſcover it to the king, or council, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon; diſcharging every one, at the ſame time, from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others.

It was likewiſe enacted, that if the king ſhould eſpouſe any woman, who had been debauched, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon, in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ridiculous clauſe, and ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute.

After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was executed on Tower-hill, toge-

ther with the lady Rocheford. Their behaviour on the ſcaffold was ſuitable to their former vicious conduct: as the lady Rocheford was known to have had a principal ſhare in bringing Anne Boleyn to her unhappy end, ſhe herſelf died unlamented; and the people, obſerving the complicated nature of this woman's guilt, were ſtill farther confirmed in the favourable opinion which they had always entertained of that unfortunate queen.

This affair being finiſhed, the parliament confirmed an act which had been paſſed in Ireland, erecting that country into a kingdom; and, from this period, the ſovereigns of England have aſſumed the title of king of Ireland; whereas, formerly, they were only ſtiled lords of that iſland.*

Henry intending to ſeize the colleges and hoſpitals of the kingdom, in the ſame manner as he had already made himſelf maſter of the monaſteries, this complaiſant parliament, in order to facilitate the execution of his deſign, annulled the particular conſtitutions of colleges and hoſpitals; and this impediment being removed, ſome of them were ſurrendered to his majeſty; but a more

* A. D. 1542.

more expeditious method was taken in the ſequel.

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, the convocation of the clergy was ſplit into parties, concerning the new tranſlation of the bible, which Gardiner and his adherents alledged was full of errors; and that, therefore, it would be extremely dangerous to put it into the hands of the people, until it ſhould be corrected.

Cranmer, ſuſpecting that his only intention was to gain time, in hopes that the king would alter his opinion, procured an order from his majeſty, referring the correction to the two univerſities; and a patent was granted to one Anthony Marlar, a London bookſeller, giving him an excluſive right to print the bible in Engliſh.

Mean while, Henry reſolved to take vengeance on the king of Scotland, for the affront he had received from that monarch, in the affair of the interview. For this purpoſe he aſſembled an army, and gave the command of it to the duke of Norfolk, with orders to invade the Scottiſh borders. James, being apprized of Norfolk's approach, detached a body of ten thouſand men to the frontiers, under the command of George Gordon, who could not, however,

ever, prevent the duke from entering Scotland, where he waſted the country bordering on the Tweed, and then retired to Berwick, on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon.

James, in the mean time, having levied an army of fifteen thouſand men, with a train of artillery, appointed the lord Maxwell his general, and determined to invade England on the weſtern ſide, by Solway-frith. Thither the king repaired in perſon, but he ſoon left the field, after having conferred the chief command upon his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, an upſtart, who was mortally hated by all the nobility.

They were ſo enraged at this inſult offered to their order, that they abſolutely refuſed to obey Sinclair, and the whole camp was filled with mutiny and confuſion; when Sir Thomas Wharton, coming up with three hundred horſe, they imagined it was the van of Norfolk's army; and, being ſtruck with a ſudden pannic, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight.

The Engliſh, obſerving their retreat, purſued them with great ardour, and, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, took the earls of Caſſils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray,

Gray, and Oliver Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, eight hundred ſoldiers, and all their baggage and artillery.

James was ſo ſenſibly afflicted with the news of this misfortune, that in a few days he died of grief and vexation, leaving his new-born daughter Mary heireſs of the Scottiſh throne. Henry was no ſooner informed of Mary's birth, and her father's death, than he formed a ſcheme of uniting the two kingdoms, by means of a match between Edward prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scotland.

With this view he ordered his miniſters to ſound the inclinations of the Scottiſh priſoners on the ſubject; and, finding them very well diſpoſed to encourage ſuch a project, he ſet them at liberty, on condition that they ſhould return to London, in caſe the deſign ſhould prove abortive.

Scotland was involved in great confuſion by the untimely death of its monarch.* The next heir to the crown, after young Mary, was James Hamilton, earl of Arran, a nobleman of a weak capacity and a peaceable diſpoſition. He was a friend to the Reformation, but altogether unqualified for the management of public affairs.

His

* A. D. 1543.

His attachment to the new religion expoſed him to the hatred and ill offices of the clergy, as well as of the queen dowager, who was ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, and blindly devoted to the papal authority. Her bigotry and ſuperſtition were cheriſhed by David Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, a prieſt of an impetuous temper, who had perſecuted the reformers with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity; and received a cardinal's hat, as a reward for the zealous efforts he had exerted in ſupport of the holy ſee.

This prelate, ſeeing all the nobility of the kingdom divided into parties and factions, determined to convert this civil diſſenſion to his own advantage. Accordingly, he produced a forged will of the late king, by which he himſelf was declared regent or guardian of the kingdom, during the minority of Mary; and he was ſupported, in his pretenſions to this office, by all the power and intereſt of the queen dowager.

On the other hand, the friends of the new religion exhorted the earl of Arran to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood; and, thus encouraged, he reſolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament, after he ſhould have diſcovered

covered and expoſed the forgery of the will produced by Beaton.

His meaſures were attended with all the ſucceſs he could poſſibly have wiſhed. The parliament was no ſooner aſſembled, than the will was canvaſſed, the forgery detected, and the earl of Arran conſtituted regent of the kingdom.

Henry diſpatched Ralph Sadler as his ambaſſador to this aſſembly, to propoſe the marriage between prince Edward and their young queen. The cardinal employed his utmoſt endeavours, in order to defeat the project; but, in ſpite of all his oppoſition, the propoſal was accepted; and the parliament appointed the earl of Angus, his brother William Douglas, and ſome other perſons, to conduct the treaty, which was concluded on the firſt day of July, importing, that the young queen ſhould be brought to the court of England, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have attained the tenth year of her age; and that, in the mean time, the Scottiſh parliament ſhould ſend three hoſtages of diſtinction to reſide at London, until the nuptials ſhould be completed.

This agreement, however, was entirely defeated by the cabals and intrigues of cardinal Beaton, who, by means of a large

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ſum of money, which he received from the clergy, gained over ſuch a number of partizans, that the people in general exclaimed againſt the treaty with England, as an union that would be productive of their own ſlavery.

The Engliſh ambaſſador was inſulted by the populace; and the regent had no longer power to give him ſatisfaction, much leſs to ſend the hoſtages ſtipulated in the treaty. Sadler, foreſeeing the conſequence of theſe proceedings, ſummoned the priſoners to return to England, according to their promiſe; but none of them had ſo much honour as to perform their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils.

Henry was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he received him with great civility, compared him to Attilius Regulus, loaded him with rich preſents, and diſmiſſed him without ranſom: at the ſame time he was ſo highly incenſed at the perfidy of the other priſoners, the affront offered to his envoy, and the clamour raiſed by Beaton and his adherents, againſt the Engliſh alliance, that he reſolved, without delay, to declare war againſt Scotland.

Mean

Mean while, the queen and the cardinal, in order to ſtrengthen their party againſt the intereſt of the Hamiltons, perſuaded Matthew Steuart earl of Lennox to return from France, where he had lived for ſome time, aſſuring him that he ſhould eſpouſe the queen dowager; and, in caſe of the infant Mary's death, be advanced to the throne, in preference to Arran, whoſe legitimacy was liable to ſome objections.

Tempted by this proſpect, the earl of Lennox repaired to Scotland, and aſſembled a body of men in order to wreſt the young queen from the hands of the regent, who, either unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, propoſed an accommodation, which was accordingly effected.

Yet the queen and the cardinal would not admit him into their confidence, unleſs he would abjure the doctrines of the new religion, which he had hitherto profeſſed; and this abjuration, which ruined his popularity, he was obliged to make in the church of the Franciſcans at Stirling.

When they had gained this important point, they had no further occaſion for Lennox, whom the queen dowager, however, continued to flatter with hopes of the marriage, while by letters ſhe deſired the

king of France to recal him into that kingdom, as his preſence was extremely prejudicial to the French intereſt in Scotland. But before theſe letters reached France, the French king had ſent a conſiderable ſum to Lennox, to be diſtributed among his friends in Scotland; for this was the method which he and Henry employed to ſupport their different factions in that country.

Lennox, finding that the queen had no intention to perform her engagements, divided the money among his own friends; and the cardinal, who expected to have received the largeſt ſhare, was ſo incenſed at his diſappointment, that he perſuaded the regent to aſſemble a body of forces, and ſurprize the earl of Lennox in Glaſgow, whither he had retired with his adherents. This nobleman, being apprized of their deſign, raiſed an army of ten thouſand men for the ſecurity of his perſon, and fortified Glaſgow and Dunbarton, while the regent proceeded very ſlowly in his levies.

At length, a peace was effected between the two parties; and the chiefs were ſeemingly reconciled at Edinburgh, from whence they departed in company for Stirling; but Lennox, being privately informed that a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, aban-

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doned the court abruptly, and withdrew to his caſtle at Dunbarton, where he firſt received intelligence of the ill offices which the queen dowager had done him with the French monarch.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the Engliſh parliament met and gratified the king with a large ſubſidy, as well to enable him to proſecute the Scottiſh war, as to ſupply his other occaſions. Then they paſſed an act,, permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants to have Engliſh Bibles in their houſes, together with certain other religious books mentioned in the ſtatutes, for the inſtruction of their families.

This law, which was procured by the intereſt of Cranmer, contained a clauſe, that mitigated the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be charged with hereſy; but the parliament impowered his majeſty to repeal or change this act, as he ſhould find it expedient.

In a few days after the ſeſſion broke up, Henry concluded a league with the emperor, which, however prejudicial to the intereſt of England, gratified his reſentment againſt Francis; whom he now perfectly hated for his ſelfiſh diſpoſition, as well as for ſome ſarcaſtic raillery which he had thrown out againſt Henry's conduct to-

wards his wives. Charles was extremely desirous of an alliance with England, which, he imagined, would enable him to bid defiance to the power of France, and oppose the progress of the Protestants in Germany.

The negociation, however, was attended with one difficulty. The emperor demanded that Henry should own his daughter Mary as his legitimate offspring; and the king of England flatly refused to comply with his request. Nevertheless, he promised to assign her a rank in the succession, according to the power bestowed upon him by parliament; and at last Charles was satisfied with this verbal promise.

The treaty, which was concluded at London, imported, that the emperor and the king of England should send ambassadors to acquaint the king of France, that, as the Turks had invaded Christendom at his desire, they expected he would renounce all connexion with those infidels, and repair the damage they had done in Europe: that he should desist from all hostilities against the emperor, restore the places he had taken with the assistance of Musselmen, and discharge the debts which he owed to the king of England; that should Francis refuse to grant these reasonable demands, the

the two monarchs ſhould declare and proſecute the war againſt him, until Henry ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the crown of France, and Charles acquire the whole dutchy of Burgundy; and finally, that each of them ſhould invade France with five and twenty thouſand men, five thouſand of which ſhould be cavalry.

Notwithſtanding the many misfortunes which Henry had met with in his former marriages, he ventured once more to enter into that ſtate, by eſpouſing a ſixth wife, in the perſon of Catharine Par, widow of the late lord Latimer; a woman of virtue and prudence, and ſomewhat inclined to the new religion.* By this marriage, Henry verified in reality what had formerly been foretold in jeſt, that he would be obliged to marry a widow. In a few months after the nuptials, lord Par, the queen's brother, was created earl of Eſſex; and her uncle was dignified with the title of baron Par, and the office of queen's chamberlain.

Henry, being deſirous of ſtrengthening the friendſhip which had lately been re-eſtabliſhed between him and the emperor, reſolved to perform his promiſe with regard to the princeſs Mary. For this pur-

* A. D. 1544.

poſe he convoked a parliament in the month of January, when an act was paſſed, regulating the different degrees of thoſe, who, after the king's death, might lay claim to the ſucceſſion.

Prince Edward and his poſterity held the firſt rank in this act of ſettlement: the next place was poſſeſſed by the male iſſue which the king might have by the preſent queen, or any future lawful wife; the third rank was aſſigned to the princeſs Mary and her iſſue; and the fourth to Elizabeth and her children: but to convince theſe princeſſes, that they were entirely indebted for this diſtinction to their father's indulgence, this act ſubjected them to any conditions he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe, which ſhould they refuſe to embrace, they were, of courſe, deprived of all right of ſucceſſion.

Beſides, in caſe they ſhould diſobey their father, or die without children, the king was impowered to ſettle the ſucceſſion, according to his own pleaſure, either by will or letters-patent.

By a clauſe of this ſtatute, all the ſubjects were obliged to take a new oath, diſclaiming the authority of the biſhop of Rome, on pain of incurring the penalties of high-treaſon, which were likewiſe denounced againſt all thoſe, who ſhould infringe any articles contained in this act.

In

In this ſeſſion, the title of king of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Anglican and Iriſh church, was for ever united to the crown of England. Another act mitigated the law of the ſix articles, and ordained, that no perſon ſhould be tried on that ſanguinary ſtatute, until the accuſation ſhould be approved by a jury of twelve men, ſworn before the king's commiſſioners, to be appointed for that purpoſe.

Then the parliament paſſed a bill releaſing the king from the payment of a loan which he had lately received from his ſubjects; and this ſtrange act was attended with a circumſtance ſtill more ſingular; for it was ordained, that thoſe who had already got payment of the ſums they had lent, either in whole or in part, ſhould refund the money into the exchequer.

In the ſpring of this year, the king ſent an armament to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near two hundred ſhips, and had on board a body of ten thouſand men. Dudley, lord Liſle, commanded the navy; and the earl of Hertford conducted the land forces.

The troops were diſembarked in the neighbourhood of Leith; and, after defeating a ſmall body which oppoſed them, they

they took that town, and then advanced to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon demoliſhed; and the Engliſh firſt pillaged, and then ſet fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were in no condition to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army; and they therefore retired to Stirling.

Hertford proceeded eaſtward; and, being reinforced by a new body under Evers, warden of the eaſtern Marches, he ravaged the whole country, burned Haddington and Dunbar, and then returned to England; having loſt no more than forty men in the whole expedition.

The earl of Arran aſſembled a few forces; but, hearing that the Engliſh were already gone, he turned them againſt Lennox, who was juſtly ſuſpected of having maintained a correſpondence with the enemy.

That nobleman, after ſome feint efforts, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry gratified him with a penſion, and even beſtowed upon him his niece, the lady Mary Douglas, in marriage.

In return for theſe favours, Lennox agreed to certain conditions, which, had he been able to perform, he muſt have reduced his country to a ſtate of abſolute ſlavery.

Henry

Henry ſhewed very little policy in this ſudden and violent invaſion; by which he inflamed the reſentment, without ſubduing the ſpirit, of the Scots. It was commonly ſaid, that he meant to be as rough a ſuitor for his ſon, as he had been a tyrannical huſband in his own conduct: that he did too much, if he deſigned to ſolicit an alliance; and too little, if he intended a conqueſt.

But the true reaſon of his withdrawing his forces, was his eagerneſs to execute his projected enterprize againſt France, where he intended to employ the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. He had formed a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total deſtruction of that monarchy, and muſt, as a neceſſary conſequence, have involved England in the ſame ruin.

Theſe two princes had engaged to attack France, with an army of above an hundred thouſand men: Henry promiſed to ſet out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were to undertake no ſiege, but, leaving the frontier towns behind them, to advance directly to Paris, where they were to unite their forces, and from thence proceed to make an entire conqueſt of the kingdom. To oppoſe the progreſs of theſe formidable enemies, Francis

cis was not able to aſſemble above forty thouſand men.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his abſence, paſſed over to Calais, with thirty thouſand men, and attended by the flower of the Engliſh nobility. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe; and the whole compoſed an army, which nothing, in that quarter, was able to withſtand. The chief force of the French army was employed on the ſide of Champagne, in reſiſting the progreſs of the Imperialiſts.

The emperor, with an army of near ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to loſe time, while he expected the arrival of his ally, he beſieged the city of Luxembourg, which he reduced: he then advanced to Commercy, which ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons: Ligny ſurrendered in the ſame manner: he next inveſted St. Didier, which, though a weak place, made a brave defence, under the count of Sancerre the governour; and the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was engaged in this enterprize, at the time the Engliſh forces were

were aſſembled in Picardy. Henry, either allured by the weak condition of the French frontiers, or concluding that the emperor had firſt broke engagements by forming ſieges, or, perhaps, dreading the fatal conſequences of entirely ruining the French monarchy, inſtead of advancing directly to Paris, inveſted the towns of Montreuil and Boulogne.

The duke of Norfolk commanded the forces before Montreuil: the king headed thoſe before Boulogne. This laſt place was defended by Vervin the governor, and under him ſerved Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who, by his exhortations and example, perſuaded the garriſon to hold out to the laſt extremity. He was killed in courſe of the ſiege; and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry, by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards executed for his puſillanimous conduct.

During the courſe of this ſiege, Charles had made himſelf maſter of St. Didier; but, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his arms, he found the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, and all his ſchemes of conquering France ſo likely to prove abortive, that he began to liſten to propoſals of accommodation with the enemy.

In

In order to have a pretext for abandoning his ally, he dispatched a messenger to the English camp, desiring Henry to perform his promise, and meet him with his army in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne, to raise it with honour; and that the emperor himself had first violated the convention, by forming sieges.

This answer furnished Charles with a plausible pretence for concluding a peace with Francis, without including his ally of England. The treaty was no sooner signed, than he ordered his forces to quit the English army; and Henry finding himself thus left in the lurch, was obliged to abandon the siege of Montreuil, and return to his own kingdom.

This campaign, however, served, to the populace, as matter of great exultation; but all men of sense concluded, that the king had, as in all his former military enterprizes, put himself to an infinite expence for the sake of a petty acquisition, which was of little or no importance.

Mean while, the Scottish war was conducted with little vigour, and less success. The earl of Lennox, the lord Dacres, and Sir Thomas Wharton were sent with a body of

of troops into Scotland, where they reduced Dumfries, and pillaged the country; from whence they carried off a conſiderable booty.

The ſucceſs of this expedition encouraged Sir Ralph Evers, now created a baron, and Sir Bryan Layton, to make another incurſion in the winter, when they ravaged the counties of Tiviotdale, and the Merſe, and took poſſeſſion of the abbey of Coldingham, which they fortified.

Evers, elated with his good fortune, boaſted to Henry, that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and claimed a reward for this important ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew how extremely difficult it would be to maintain ſuch acquiſitions againſt a warlike enemy, adviſed the king to grant him, as a reward, the conqueſts which he ſo highly extolled.

The next incurſion made by the Engliſh ſhewed the juſtneſs of Norfolk's reaſoning, and the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general, in the beginning of the year, marched with about five thouſand men into Tiviotdale, and ravaged the country to a great extent; but the earl of Angus, who had

* A. D. 1545.

raiſed ſome forces for the defence of his country, found means to decoy the Engliſh into an ambuſh, and then attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtable fury, that all their leaders were ſlain or taken priſoners, and the whole body entirely routed. Among the priſoners was one Read, an alderman of London, who had been impreſſed as a ſoldier, on account of his having refuſed to contribute to a benevolence exacted by the king.

The war with France was this year proſecuted with as little ſpirit as that with Scotland. Francis had fitted out a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies; and and having embarked ſome land-forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England.

They ſteered their courſe towards the Iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor in St. Helens. As it did not amount to an hundred ſail, the admiral thought it more prudent to remain in the road, in hopes of drawing the enemy into the narrow ſtraits and paſſes with which they were entirely unacquainted. The two fleets cannonaded each other for the ſpace of two days; and, except the ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of the largeſt ſhips in the Engliſh navy, the damage on both ſides was very inconſiderable.

The

The French landed ſome troops on the Iſle of Wight, and ravaged the country; but, being repulſed by the militia, they fled to their ſhips, which ſoon after ſet ſail for France. They were again driven, by contrary winds, upon the coaſt of England, where they encountered the Engliſh fleet; and a new cannonading enſued, which was as little deciſive as the former.

It was hardly poſſible, indeed, for a fleet, at that time, to gain any conſiderable advantage over the enemy, without the dangerous experiment of boarding. The cannon were commonly ſo ill ſerved, that a French writer of memoirs, remarks, as a circumſtance ſomewhat ſingular, that each of theſe numerous fleets, in an engagement of two hours, fired full three hundred ſhot. One large ſhip, in the preſent age, could eaſily fire a greater number.

Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had ſufficiently gratified his humour by this ſhort war; and concluding, from his great increaſe in corpulency, and decay of ſtrength, that his end was faſt approaching, was deſirous of finiſhing a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom, during a minority.

Francis, likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to an accommodation with England; becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon, the duke of Orleans, he renewed his claim to Milan, and foreſaw, that this diſpute would be productive of a war between him and the emperor.

Both parties being thus favourably diſpoſed, commiſſioners were appointed; and theſe meeting at Campte, a place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon adjuſted, and the peace concluded.*

The principal terms were, that Henry ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of Boulogne, for eight years, or at leaſt till the former debt, due by Francis, ſhould be diſcharged. This debt was fixed at two millions of of livres, beſides a claim of five hundred thouſand livres, which was afterwards to be ſettled. Thus all the advantage which Henry derived from a war, which coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling, was only a bad ſecurity for a debt, which, after all, was not equal to one tenth of the money he expended, in order to procure this imaginary ſatisfaction.

The

* A. D. 1546.

The king being now diſengaged from all foreign wars, had time to turn his attention to domeſtic affairs; and, particularly, to the eſtabliſhment of uniformity of opinion in religious matters; a point about which he was extremely ſolicitous. Though he had permitted the bible to be tranſlated into Engliſh, he had hitherto been careful to keep the maſs in Latin; but he was, at laſt, perſuaded to ſuffer the litany to be turned into the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he revived the ſpirits of the reformers, who had been filled with terror and apprehenſion at the enacting of the bloody ſtatute.

But, in proportion as this meaſure encouraged the hopes of the Proteſtants, it alarmed the fears of the Catholics; and theſe laſt, finding that Cranmer was the principal ſupport of the new religion, reſolved, if poſſible, to effect the ruin of that prelate.

To accompliſh their purpoſe with the greater eaſe, they determined to take advantage of the king's paſſion for orthodoxy, well knowing that he was diſpoſed to ſhew no mercy to thoſe who preſumed to differ from him in opinion. They accordingly told him, that, if his pious en-

deavours to inforce the truth, were sometimes rendered abortive, it was entirely owing to the presumption of the primate, who, both by his example and discourses, promoted and encouraged heresy.

Henry, perceiving their drift, affected to be pleased with their remonstrance, and ordered the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising, that, if he should be found guilty, he would send him to the Tower, and punish him with the utmost severity.

All the world now imagined that the primate's ruin was inevitable; his old friends, from selfish motives, and the opposite party, from animosity, began to treat him with neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could have access; and when he was at last admitted, he was told, that they had resolved to commit him to the Tower. Cranmer replied, that he appealed to the king; and, finding that no regard was paid to his appeal, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him, as a mark of his favour and protection.

The counsellors were overwhelmed with confusion; and when they came into the royal

royal preſence, the king reprimanded them in the ſevereſt terms. He ſaid he thought they had been poſſeſſed of more wiſdom than they now ſeemed to diſcover. He laid his hand upon his breaſt, and declared, by the faith he owed to God, that he believed the archbiſhop was the moſt faithful ſubject in his dominions.

Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct by alledging, that all they meant was a trial, by which the archbiſhop's innocence would be fully manifeſted; ſo as to free him from all future ſuſpicion.

Henry replied, with a frown, that he would not ſuffer perſons, who were ſo dear to him, to be treated in that manner: he ſaid he was well acquainted with their factions and malice, and was determined to extinguiſh the one, and puniſh the other with the utmoſt ſeverity. In the mean time, he obliged them all to embrace the archbiſhop as a ſign of their reconciliation; and the ceremony was performed in his preſence.

But though Henry had ſo great a regard for Cranmer, that he would not ſuffer any impeachment to be brought againſt him, he was not diſpoſed to ſhew the ſame lenity to others who preſumed to entertain

entertain a different opinion from himself in matters of religion.

Anne Askew, a woman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many persons at court, being convicted of denying the real presence in the eucharist, was condemned to the flames, and this cruel fate she rather chose to suffer than purchase her pardon by renouncing her principles.

She was supposed to be favoured by some ladies of high rank, and even to have carried on a religious correspondence with the queen; so that the chancellor Wriothesley, who was a zealous Papist, hoping he might discover something that would afford matter of impeachment against that princess, the earl of Hertford, or his countess, who all encouraged the Reformation, ordered this poor woman to be put to the rack; and he is even said to have assisted, with his own hands, in augmenting the torture, which, though administered with uncommon violence, she endured with the most undaunted fortitude and resolution.

Her bones were dislocated in such a manner, that they were forced to carry her in a chair to the place of execution, where she was burned with four men,

men, who were condemned on the ſame account.

But, though the ſecreſy and fidelity of Anne Aſkew ſaved the queen from this peril, ſhe ſoon fell into a new danger, from which ſhe eſcaped with great difficulty. The king had, for ſome time, been troubled with an ulcer in his leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and bad habit of body, began to threaten his life, and to make him more peeviſh and paſſionate than uſual.

The queen, during his illneſs, attended him with the moſt tender and dutiful care, and employed every art, which her ſagacity or affection could ſuggeſt, in order to ſooth his pain, and allay thoſe guſts of humour, to which he was become ſo ſubject.

His favourite topic of converſation was divinity; and Catharine, whoſe good ſenſe enabled her to talk on any ſubject, was frequently drawn into the argument; and, being a ſecret friend to the Reformation, ſhe unluckily diſcovered too much of her ſentiments on theſe occaſions.

Henry, incenſed at her preſumption, in daring to differ from him, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly embraced ſuch a favourable opportunity of widen-

widening the breach between them. He commended the king for the care and concern he took to preſerve the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and told him, that the more exalted the perſon was who was puniſhed, and the more nearly connected with his majeſty, the greater terror would the example ſtrike into others, and the more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to all ſucceeding ages.

The chancellor, being conſulted, was prompted by religious zeal to enforce the ſame topics; and Henry, actuated by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by the advice of his counſellors, carried the matter to ſuch a length, as to order articles of impeachment to be preſented againſt his conſort.

Wriotheſley obeyed his orders, and, ſoon after, brought him the paper to be ſigned: for, as it was high-treaſon to aſperſe the character of the queen, he might otherwiſe have fallen into the pit, which he intended to dig for her.

In going home, he happened to drop this important paper from his pocket; and, as it was found by ſome of the queen's party, it was immediately put into her majeſty's hands. She at once perceived the precipice upon which ſhe ſtood; but

ſhe

ſhe ſtill hoped to be able, by her prudence and addreſs, to defeat the malicious deſigns of her enemies. She waited upon the king as uſual, and found him in a better humour than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He preſently entered on his common topic, and ſeemed to challenge her to a diſpute in divinity.

She modeſtly declined the invitation, and obſerved, that ſuch difficult and abſtruſe ſpeculations, were ill adapted to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it was the huſband's privilege to chooſe principles for his wife, whoſe duty it was, in all caſes, to embrace the ſentiments recommended by her ſpouſe; and, as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſſed with a huſband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, to chooſe principles not only for his own family, but alſo for the wiſe and intelligent of every nation. "Not ſo, by "St. Mary!" replied the king; "you are "now become a doctor, Kate; and bet-"ter fitted to give than receive inſtruc-"tions."

She

She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she deserved these praises; that though she never refused to engage in any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her arguments could answer no other purpose, than to afford him a little momentary amusement; that as the conversation was apt to grow languid, when not enlived by some opposition, she had ventured sometimes to affect a difference of opinion, in order to give him an opportunity of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him in subjects, from which she had found, to her happy experience, that she derived the greatest benefit and instruction. "And "is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then we are perfect friends again." He took her in his arms, embraced her with great tenderness, and assured her that she might depend upon his protection.

Her enemies, who were entirely ignorant of this reconciliation, prepared next day to commit her to the Tower, agreeable to the king's warrant. Henry and Catharine were engaged in a friendly conversation in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some

distance

distance from her; and seemed to reprimand in the severest manner: she even overheard the epithets of, "knave, fool, "and beast," which he very liberally bestowed upon the chancellor; and then commanded him to quit his presence.

The queen, who either was, or pretended to be, ignorant of his business, interceded in his favour; and Henry said to her, "poor soul, thou little knowest "how ill he deserves thy good offices." From this time, Catharine, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to incur the king's displeasure by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice, through the whole affair, had appeared in the most odious colours, could never afterwards regain the favour of his master.

The reformers were overjoyed at the disgrace of Gardiner, whom they considered as their most implacable enemy; but they had still greater cause to triumph in the ruin of the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman, no less averse to their religion, and capable of hurting them in a more effectual manner.

The duke had served the king with fidelity and success; and his son, the earl of Surrey, was a young gentleman of great

courage and ability, though not without a mixture of pride, vanity, and affectation. The family was powerful, not only in its own ſtrength, but likewiſe as it was the head of the Popiſh party. On this account, it alarmed the fears of the earl of Hertford and Sir Thomas Seymour, who aſpired to the direction of public affairs, in the event of the king's death. They were well acquainted with the hatred which the Howards bore them, and dreaded their power and influence during a minority.

They inſinuated to Henry, that the earl of Surrey entertained the ambitious hopes of a marriage with the princeſs Mary, in which caſe he might endanger the government of young Edward. They even hinted that he raiſed his aſpiring views to the crown, and bore the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, without any mark of difference or diminution.

This was a matter that affected Henry in the moſt ſenſible part. He determined to prevent ſuch a fatal accident by ſacrificing the Howards to his jealouſy; and the diviſions that prevailed in that unhappy family contributed greatly to facilitate his endeavours.

The dutcheſs, who had long been ſeparated from her huſband, turned evidence againſt

againſt him; and his ſuppoſed concubine, Mrs. Holland, acted the ſame perfidious part. His daughter, Mary, dutcheſs dowager of Richmond, entertained a ſecret grudge againſt her brother the earl of Surrey, and enliſted herſelf among the number of his enemies, the principal of whom was Sir Richard Southwell, who accuſed him of infidelity to the king.

The earl gave him the lie, and offered to aſſert his innocence in ſingle combat; indeed, the whole charge preferred againſt this noble family, amounted to no more than ſome raſh expreſſions of diſcontent, and the earl's aſſuming the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, while his father bore thoſe of England, with a badge of labels of ſilver, which were appropriated to the prince of Wales.

Theſe armorial bearings had been authorized by the heralds; and, for a number of years, obſerved by the king, without giving the leaſt umbrage; but now that a pretext was wanting for effecting the ruin of the Howards, they were judged a ſufficient cauſe for paſſing an act of attainder againſt them.

The earl of Surrey was tried by a common jury, who, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence, condemned him

for high-treaſon; and the ſentence was ſoon after executed on Tower-hill.

The father endeavoured to appeaſe the king's reſentment by letters and ſubmiſſions; but Henry's breaſt was inſenſible to all the emotions of pity. The parliament being aſſembled on the fourteenth day of January, a bill of attainder was preſented againſt the duke of Norfolk, who could not have been condemned by a legal trial before his peers; and this paſſing, received the royal aſſent, from the lord chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and the lords St. John and Ruſſel, who had been commiſſioned under the great ſeal for that purpoſe. The death-warrant was preſently ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have ſuffered next morning, had not an event of a more intereſting nature intervened, and prevented the ſentence from being carried into execution.

The king had, for ſome time, been ſenſible that his end was faſt approaching. On the thirtieth day of December, he made his will, in which he confirmed the former deſtination of parliament, by leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to Elizabeth: and the two princeſſes were obliged, under penalty of

of forfeiting their right to the crown, not to marry without the consent of the privy-council.

After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, eldest daugher to his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter.

In passing by the posterity of the queen of Scots, his eldest sister, he availed himself of the power which the parliament had bestowed upon him; but, as he added, that, after the failure of the French queen's posterity, the crown should devolve to the next lawful heir, it became a question whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line.

It was asserted, that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by this ambiguous expression, meant entirely to exclude them. The late insults which he had received from the Scots, had inflamed him with the highest resentment against that nation; and he retained, to the day of his death, that character of violence and caprice, by which his whole life had been distinguished.

There was another clause in his will, which shews the strange inconsistency of his temper and conduct: he allotted money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and, though he abolished all the institutions established by his ancestors for the benefit of their souls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory problematical in all the creeds, which he published during his latter years, he was yet resolved, when matters came to the last, to take care, at least, of his own repose, and to adhere to what he weakly conceived to be the safer side of the question.

Though he believed his disease was incurable, perhaps he did not imagine his end was so near; and as, by an act passed in his reign, it had been declared high-treason to foretell the king's death, no one would run the risk of acquainting him with his situation; not knowing but, in the violence of his passion, he might execute the law, in all its rigour, upon the author of such friendly intelligence.

At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate with which he now was threatened. He thanked him for his kind advice; owned he had been

been a great ſinner; but expreſſed his reliance on the merits of Chriſt. When Denny propoſed a ſpiritual director, he begged he would ſend for archbiſhop Cranmer, who had retired to Croydon, that he might have no concern in the ſcandalous bill of attainder againſt the duke of Norfolk; though that nobleman had always been his enemy.

Before he arrived at court, Henry was ſpeechleſs, though not inſenſible; for when Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt, he ſqueezed his hand with ſeeming fervour, and in a few minutes expired, on the twenty-eighth day of January,* after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

The king happening to die between the date of the warrant and the execution, the duke of Norfolk was preſerved by this providential interpoſition; though the council ſeem to have been undetermined about his fate; for they concealed his majeſty's deceaſe for three days; and then the chancellor declared the parliament diſſolved.

There

* A. D. 1547.

The conduct of Henry the eighth was so different and inconsistent with itself, in the several periods of his life, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a just description of his character; which, as his historian lord Herbert observes, may be best learned from his actions. In his youth, he was sincere, open, gallant, and liberal: in his more advanced years, he became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and so cruel, that he seemed to delight in the blood of his subjects.

The absolute and unlimited authority, which he acquired and exercised over his own people, and the regard and consideration, which he procured and maintained among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him to the appellation of a great prince, while his tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, seem to exclude him from the character of a good sovereign.

The gratification of his own sensual and brutal appetites, appears to have been the grand object of all his pursuits. To this he sacrificed every obligation of justice, every dictate of conscience, and every feeling of humanity.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM